

Also, petition of Radiant Lodge, No. 416, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, of Mahoning, Pa., in favor of S. 4260—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of Blue Mountain Lodge, No. 694, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, of Marysville, Pa., in favor of S. 4260—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of Chemung Lodge, No. 229, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, of Blossburg, Pa., for S. 4260—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburg, Pa., to require common carriers of interstate and foreign commerce to make full reports of all accidents to the Interstate Commerce Commission, and authorizing investigation thereof by said Commission—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of Pennsylvania Congressional delegation, in favor of a State conference to consider the results of the second Hague conference and to formulate propositions to be submitted to the third Hague conference—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of Radiant Lodge, No. 416, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, of Mahoningtown, Pa., for S. 4260—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. WOOD: Petition of Mercer Grange, No. 77, Patrons of Husbandry, of Hopewell, N. J., for a parcels-post law and postal savings bank—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, petition of J. H. Cuntz, of Hoboken, N. J., for H. R. 11562, for repayment of the collateral inheritance tax to the Stevens Institute of Technology, of Hoboken, N. J.—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, petitions of Somerset Grange, No. 7, of Middlebush; Whitehouse Grange, of Whitehouse, and Mercer Grange, No. 77, of Hopewell, Patrons of Husbandry, all in the State of New Jersey, for a national highway commission and Federal aid in the construction of public highways—to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, petition of Allen C. Bakewell, of New York City, for forest reservations in White Mountains and Southern Appalachian Mountains—to the Committee on Agriculture.

## SENATE.

TUESDAY, March 17, 1908.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. EDWARD E. HALE.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on request of Mr. KEAN, and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Journal stands approved.

### REPORT ON ROAD BUILDING IN YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of War, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the 6th instant, a report prepared by the engineer in charge of road building and improvement in the Yellowstone National Park on a survey made for a new road from the West Gallatin River to connect with the main traveled roadway in that park, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Public Lands and ordered to be printed.

### USELESS PAPERS IN THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor, transmitting a schedule of papers, documents, etc., not needed or used in the transaction of the current business of that Department, and which have no permanent value or historical interest, which was read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The communication will be referred to the Joint Select Committee on the Disposition of Useless Papers in the Executive Departments. The Chair appoints as members of the committee on the part of the Senate the Senator from Texas [Mr. BAILEY] and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER], and directs the Secretary to properly notify the House of Representatives thereof.

### FRENCH SPOILATION CLAIMS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the assistant clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting the conclusions of fact and of law filed under the act of January 20, 1885, in the French spoliation claims set out in the annexed findings by the court relating to the vessel brig *Sophia*, Ambrose Shirley, master, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Claims and ordered to be printed.

## MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. W. J. BROWNING, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed the following bill and joint resolution:

S. 626. An act authorizing and empowering the Secretary of War to locate a right of way for, and granting the same, and a right to operate and maintain a line of railroad through the Three Tree Point Military Reservation, in the State of Washington, to the Grays Harbor and Columbia River Railway Company, its successors and assigns; and

S. R. 69. Joint resolution granting authority for the use of certain balances of appropriations for the Light-House Establishment, to be available for certain named purposes.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

S. 1424. An act to increase the efficiency of the Medical Department of the United States Army; and

S. 4112. An act to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the reorganization of the consular service of the United States," approved April 5, 1906.

The message further announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H. R. 225. An act to amend section 4463 of the Revised Statutes relating to the complement of crews of vessels, and for the better protection of life;

H. R. 13649. An act providing for the hearing of cases upon appeal from the district court for the district of Alaska in the circuit court of appeals for the ninth circuit;

H. R. 14789. An act to amend an act entitled "An act for the protection of game in Alaska, and for other purposes," approved June 7, 1902; and

H. R. 17296. An act providing for the restoration of the motto "In God we trust" on certain denominations of the gold and silver coins of the United States.

The message also announced that the House had disagreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 15653) to increase the pension of widows, minor children, etc., of deceased soldiers and sailors of the late civil war, the war with Mexico, the various Indian wars, etc., and to grant a pension to certain widows of the deceased soldiers and sailors of the late civil war; asks a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. SULLOWAY, Mr. LOUDENSLAGER, and Mr. WEISSE managers at the conference on the part of the House.

### ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

The message further announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the enrolled bill (H. R. 17277) for the relief of George S. Patten, of Williams, Coconino County, Ariz., and it was thereupon signed by the Vice-President.

### PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT presented the petition of Robert D. Kinney, of Philadelphia, Pa., praying for an investigation of certain rulings of the circuit and supreme courts of the United States, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented the petition of Robert D. Kinney, of Philadelphia, Pa., praying for an inquiry into the official conduct of John B. McPherson and James B. Holland, United States judges, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented the petition of Robert D. Kinney, of Philadelphia, Pa., praying for an inquiry into the course pursued by Hon. R. W. Archibald, United States judge, in case of Robert D. Kinney v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented the petition of Robert D. Kinney, of Philadelphia, Pa., praying for inquiry and relief regarding the course pursued by James B. Holland, United States judge, in the case of R. D. Kinney & Co. v. Burhorn & Granger, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a memorial of Local Union No. 78, International Typographical Union, of Fort Wayne, Ind., remonstrating against the passage of the so-called "Penrose bill" to exclude nonmailable periodicals from second-class mail privileges, which was referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also presented memorials of sundry organizations of Texas, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Illinois, New Jersey, Iowa, California, Minnesota, and Michigan, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation to regulate the interstate transportation of intoxicating liquors, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. GAMBLE presented petitions of sundry citizens of Huron, Forestburg, Gettysburg, Ree Heights, Hudson, and Tulare, all

in the State of South Dakota, praying for the enactment of legislation to limit the effect of the regulation of commerce between the several States and Territories in certain cases, and also remonstrating against the repeal of the present anticanteen law, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. FRYE presented a memorial of the Eastern Wholesale Dry Goods Association, of Boston, Mass., remonstrating against the passage of the so-called "parcels-post bill," which was referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also presented a petition of Mystic Lodge, No. 2, Good Templars, of Portland, Me., and a petition of Cumberland District Lodge, Good Templars, of Portland, Me., praying for the enactment of legislation to regulate the interstate transportation of intoxicating liquors, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. PLATT presented a memorial of United Division, No. 292, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, of Middletown, N. Y., remonstrating against the passage of the so-called "Penrose bill," to exclude nonmailable periodicals from second-class mail privileges, which was referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also presented a petition of Erie County Branch, American Federation of Catholic Societies, of Buffalo, N. Y., praying for an increase in the appropriation for the settlement of Catholic Church claims in the Philippines, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of Olean, N. Y., praying for the passage of the so-called "postal savings-bank bill," which was referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also presented a memorial of the Owen Roe Club, of New York City, N. Y., remonstrating against the ratification of the pending treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of Marion Grange, No. 214, Patrons of Husbandry, of Marion, N. Y., praying for the enactment of legislation providing for the establishment of a rural parcels post, and also for the creation of a national highways commission, which was referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. CULLOM presented a memorial of Hiram McClintock Post, No. 667, Department of Illinois, Grand Army of the Republic, of La Grange, Ill., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation to provide for the abolishment of certain pension agencies throughout the country, which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also presented a memorial of the Retail Merchants' Association of Peoria, Ill., remonstrating against the passage of the so-called "parcels-post bill," which was referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also presented a memorial of the Trades and Labor Assembly of Decatur, Ill., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation to prohibit the transportation of intoxicating liquors in prohibition districts, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. HOPKINS presented a petition of the Trades and Labor Assembly of Decatur, Ill., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation to prohibit the interstate transportation of intoxicating liquors, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a petition of the Lake County Manufacturers' Association, of Waukegan, Ill., praying for the passage of the so-called "Fowler currency bill," which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of the Joint Advisory Board, Cigar Makers' Unions, of Chicago, Ill., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors in the District of Columbia, which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. TALIAFERRO presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Franklin County, Fla., remonstrating against the passage of the so-called "Penrose bill," to exclude nonmailable periodicals from second-class mail privileges, which was referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also presented the memorial of Robert W. Simms, of Jacksonville, Fla., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation to prohibit the interstate transportation of intoxicating liquors in prohibition districts, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a petition of Local Lodge No. 257, International Association of Machinists, of Jacksonville, Fla., praying for the enactment of legislation providing for the construction of at least one of the proposed new battle ships at one of the Government navy-yards, which was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. NELSON presented memorials of sundry posts, Grand Army of the Republic, of Jackson, Springfield, Minneapolis, Le Roy, Waseca, Rush City, Sauk Center, Duluth, Sherburn, Fairmont, Brownston, Moorhead, Crookston, Fulda, and Red Wing, all in the State of Minnesota, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation proposing to abolish certain pension agencies throughout the country, which were referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also presented a memorial of the Foundrymen's Association of Twin City, Minn., remonstrating against the passage of the so-called "anti-injunction bill," which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a petition of the Commercial Club of St. Paul, Minn., praying that an appropriation be made for the improvement of the upper Mississippi River, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also presented a memorial of the Business Men's Association of Rochester, Minn., remonstrating against the passage of the so-called "parcels-post bill," which was referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also presented a petition of the Credit Men's associations of St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minn., praying for the adoption of a certain amendment to the national bankruptcy law, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. BEVERIDGE presented a memorial of Local Union No. 78, International Typographical Union, of Fort Wayne, Ind., and a memorial of Jarvis Lodge, No. 8, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers of America, of Terre Haute, Ind., remonstrating against the passage of the so-called "Penrose bill," to exclude nonmailable periodicals from second-class mail privileges, which were referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also presented a memorial of Jarvis Lodge, No. 8, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers of America, of Terre Haute, Ind., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation to regulate the interstate transportation of intoxicating liquors, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a petition of Tecumseh Lodge, No. 402, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, of Lafayette, Ind., praying for the passage of the so-called "Rosenberg anti-injunction bill," which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a petition of Tecumseh Lodge, No. 402, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, of Lafayette, Ind., praying for the passage of the so-called "La Follette-Sterling employers' liability bill," which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a memorial of the Commercial Club of Crawfordsville, Ind., and a memorial of sundry business men of Chrisney, Ind., remonstrating against the passage of the so-called "parcels-post bill," which were referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also presented a petition of the Farmers' Institute of Clark County, Ind., and a petition of Pleasant Hill Grange, No. 2104, Patrons of Husbandry, of Wagner, Ind., praying for the passage of the so-called "parcels-post bill," which were referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also presented a memorial of the Emmet Club of Indianapolis, Ind., remonstrating against the ratification of the pending arbitration treaty between the United States and Great Britain, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of the Woman's Missionary Societies of Trinity Church, of New Albany, Ind., praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit the interstate transportation of intoxicating liquors in prohibition districts, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a petition of Local Union, No. 196, International Typographical Union, of Logansport, Ind., praying for the repeal of the duty on white paper, wood pulp, and the materials used in the manufacture thereof, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of Lafayette, Ind., and a petition of sundry citizens of Connersville, Ind., praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors in the District of Columbia, which were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also presented a petition of Post Q, Travelers' Protective Association of America, of New Albany, Ind., praying that an appropriation be made for the improvement of the rivers and harbors of the country, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also presented memorials of sundry citizens of Marion, Wolf Lake, Muncie, Sheridan, and Lebanon, and of Henry and Howard counties, all in the State of Indiana, remonstrating



against the enactment of legislation to prohibit Sunday banking in post-offices, in the handling of money orders and registered letters, which were referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. du PONT presented a petition of West Brandywine Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, of Brandywine, Del., praying for the passage of the so-called "rural parcels-post bill," which was referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. LODGE presented a petition of Fitchburg Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, of Fitchburg, Mass., and a petition of Oxford Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, of Oxford, Mass., praying for the passage of the so-called "parcels-post bill," which were referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. RICHARDSON presented the petition of Rev. J. Howard Gray and 1,054 other members of the Wilmington Anti-License League and of the Woman's Anti-License Federation, of Wilmington, Del., praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit the interstate transportation of intoxicating liquors into prohibition districts, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented the petition of J. W. Short and sundry other citizens, of Milford, Del., praying for the passage of the so-called "rural parcels-post bill," which was referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. DOLLIVER presented sundry petitions of citizens of Dubuque, Iowa, praying for the enactment of legislation providing for the construction of the next proposed new battle ship at one of the Government navy-yards, which were referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

He also presented a petition of the Montgomery County Medical Society, of Red Oak, Iowa, praying for the enactment of legislation granting pensions to the widows of Dr. James Carroll and Dr. J. W. Lazear, which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also presented a petition of Local Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, of Davenport, Iowa, praying for the passage of the so-called "parcels-post bill," which was referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also presented a petition of Local Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, of Scott County, Iowa, praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit gambling in "futures," which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. LONG presented memorials of sundry citizens of Louisville and Sabetha, in the State of Kansas; of Downs, Eldon, Harrisonville, St. Louis, and Queen City, all in the State of Missouri; and of Knights, Fla., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation to protect the first day of the week as a day of rest in the District of Columbia, which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also presented a petition of John A. Martin Post, No. 93, Department of Kansas, Grand Army of the Republic, of Topeka, Kans., praying for the enactment of legislation to create a volunteer retired list in the War and Navy Departments for the surviving officers of the civil war, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of Beeler, Chautauqua, Fort Scott, Hatton, Kansas City, Lafayette, Latharpe, Manhattan, Ness, Oneida, and Rock, all in the State of Kansas, praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors in the District of Columbia, which were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. BURNHAM presented a petition of Local Grange No. 239, Patrons of Husbandry, of Plymouth, N. H., praying for the enactment of legislation to establish a national forest reserve in the Southern Appalachian and White Mountains, which was referred to the Committee on Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game.

He also presented a petition of Local Grange No. 239, Patrons of Husbandry, of Plymouth, N. H., praying for the enactment of legislation for the creation of a national highways commission, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

He also presented a petition of West View Grange, No. 2034, Patrons of Husbandry, of Eldridge, Iowa, praying for the passage of the so-called "parcels-post bill," which was referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also presented the petition of John V. Tussing and 21 other citizens of Basil, Ohio, and a petition of the Farmers' Institute of McFarland, Wis., praying for the passage of the so-called "rural parcels-post bill," which were referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. WARREN presented sundry memorials of citizens of Cheyenne, Wyo., remonstrating against the passage of the so-called "parcels-post bill," which were referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. HALE presented a petition of the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, praying for the enactment of legislation to establish a record and pension office in the Navy Department, which was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

#### THE UNITED STATES NAVY.

Mr. HALE. I present a memorial of the Peace Association of Friends of Philadelphia, Pa., remonstrating against the great addition to the Navy involved in the plan of authorizing at once the construction of four new battle ships and other cruisers and vessels for the United States Navy. I move that it be printed as a document and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

The motion was agreed to.

#### AMENDMENT OF NATIONAL BANKING LAWS.

Mr. ALDRICH. I am directed by a unanimous vote of the Committee on Finance to report sundry amendments to Senate bill 3023, to amend the national banking laws, and I desire to make a very brief explanation of the purposes of the amendments.

The first amendment provides that no notes shall be issued upon any securities in excess of the par value of the bonds deposited.

The second amendment restores the \$9,000,000 limitation on the monthly retirement of notes based upon United States bonds.

The third amendment strikes from the bill all provisions in regard to railroad bonds. When this paragraph was reached, it was passed over at my suggestion, with the statement that the committee would consider amendments to it.

The committee believed when the bill was reported, and they now believe, that it would be desirable to have for use as a basis for these emergency notes as large an amount as possible of available securities. But the committee find that questions are made and issues raised in regard to the use of railroad bonds which have no reference to the bill now under consideration—questions of the relation between the railroads and the public and as to the proper regulation of railroads and of the issue of railroad stocks and bonds. Under all the circumstances the committee have thought it better to ask the Senate to strike out the provisions which pertain to railroad bonds.

Mr. NELSON. Will the Senator from Rhode Island allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. ALDRICH. Certainly.

Mr. NELSON. Has the Senator offered any amendment in relation to bank reserves?

Mr. ALDRICH. No; the committee has that question still under consideration, and will report an amendment or amendments within a very short time.

Mr. CULBERSON. I ask the Senator from Rhode Island if it would not be well to have the bill reprinted as proposed to be amended by the committee?

Mr. ALDRICH. I think that is a very good suggestion. I ask that a reprint be made that will incorporate the amendments suggested by the committee.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Rhode Island asks that the financial bill be reprinted and that the amendments proposed by the Committee on Finance be incorporated in it. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

#### TREASURY ACCOUNTS.

Mr. ALDRICH. From the Committee on Finance I report back with an amendment the bill (S. 4049) for the relief of Edwin U. Curtis, assistant treasurer of the United States at Boston, and I submit a report thereon.

Mr. LODGE. I ask for the present consideration of the bill. There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The amendment was to strike out all after the enacting clause and to insert:

That the Secretary of the Treasury and the proper accounting officers of the Treasury Department be, and they are hereby, authorized and directed to credit in the accounts of the Treasurer of the United States the sum of \$3,000, now carried in the accounts of the office of the assistant treasurer of the United States at Boston, Mass., and in the general account of the Treasurer of the United States as "unavailable funds" and representing a shortage found in June, 1907, in the amount of money belonging to the United States while in the custody of said assistant treasurer, the loss of said money having occurred through no fault or negligence on the part of said assistant treasurer, and said sum being the total amount carried in the statement of the Treasurer of the United States in his annual report for the year 1907 as "unavailable funds, office assistant treasurer of the United States at Boston, Mass." And for this purpose the said sum of \$3,000 is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill authorizing a credit in certain accounts of the Treasurer of the United States."

#### APPRAISER OF MERCHANDISE.

Mr. ALDRICH. From the Committee on Finance I report back with an amendment the bill (S. 624) providing for the appointment of an appraiser of merchandise for the customs collection district of Puget Sound, State of Washington, and I submit a report thereon.

Mr. PILES. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill just reported by the Senator from Rhode Island.

The Secretary read the bill, and there being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to its consideration.

The amendment was, in line 7, before the word "thousand," to strike out "four" and insert "three," so as to make the bill read:

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That there shall be in the customs collection district of Puget Sound, State of Washington, an appraiser of merchandise, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and with compensation at the rate of \$3,000 per annum.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. MARTIN, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 12292) for the relief of A. E. Couch, reported it without amendment.

Mr. STEPHENSON, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 6664) for the relief of Roman Scholter, reported it without amendment.

Mr. FULTON, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 655) for the relief of Richard A. Proctor, reported it without amendment and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. WARNER, from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, to whom was referred the bill (S. 2986) to acquire certain land in Hall and Elvan's subdivision of Meridian Hill, in the District of Columbia, for a public park, reported it without amendment and submitted a report thereon.

#### MOBILE RIVER BRIDGE.

Mr. MARTIN. I am directed by the Committee on Commerce, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 17311) to authorize the Pensacola, Mobile and New Orleans Railway Company, a corporation existing under the laws of the State of Alabama, to construct a bridge over and across the Mobile River and its navigable channels on a line approximately east of the north boundary line of the city of Mobile, Ala., to report it favorably without amendment.

Mr. BANKHEAD. It is very necessary that this bill should be passed at an early day, and I ask for its present consideration.

The Secretary read the bill, and there being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to its consideration.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

#### BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. OVERMAN introduced a bill (S. 6165) for the relief of the estate of Stephen Johnson, deceased, which was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. DEPEW introduced a bill (S. 6166) for the relief of Peter Claude, which was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. KEAN introduced a bill (S. 6167) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Passaic, N. J., which was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced the following bills, which were severally read twice by their titles and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions:

A bill (S. 6168) granting an increase of pension to George Shelton;

A bill (S. 6169) granting an increase of pension to John Stuckey; and

A bill (S. 6170) granting an increase of pension to Robert W. McCullough, jr.

Mr. CLAPP introduced a bill (S. 6171) to allot to Indians

land in former limits of Bois Fort Reservation, Minn., which was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. KNOX introduced a bill (S. 6172) for the relief of Augusta W. Seely, which was read twice by its title and, with an accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. HOPKINS introduced a bill (S. 6173) granting a pension to Charles O. Brown, which was read twice by its title and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. LODGE introduced a bill (S. 6174) for the relief of Edward Livingston Keyes, which was read twice by its title and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. BRIGGS introduced a bill (S. 6175) for the relief of Capt. Thomas Mason, United States Revenue-Cutter Service, retired, which was read twice by its title and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. TALIAFERRO introduced a bill (S. 6176) granting an increase of pension to David Raulerson, which was read twice by its title and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. GORE introduced a bill (S. 6177) providing for the holding of the United States district and circuit courts at Ada, Okla., which was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also (by request) introduced a bill (S. 6178) authorizing the heirs of Samuel Garland to file a petition in the Court of Claims of the United States, which was read twice by its title and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. FORAKER introduced a bill (S. 6179) for the relief of Mary Sherman McCallum, which was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. STEPHENSON introduced the following bills, which were severally read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on Pensions:

A bill (S. 6180) granting an increase of pension to James Shaahan;

A bill (S. 6181) granting an increase of pension to Perry A. Hart;

A bill (S. 6182) granting an increase of pension to Carter J. Brazee;

A bill (S. 6183) granting an increase of pension to Charles H. Goss;

A bill (S. 6184) granting a pension to George W. Barber;

A bill (S. 6185) granting a pension to Emma C. Wiese;

A bill (S. 6186) granting an increase of pension to Royal E. Dake; and

A bill (S. 6187) granting an increase of pension to George W. Ellis.

He also introduced a bill (S. 6188) granting an honorable discharge to George W. Kelsey, alias George W. Smith, which was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. PERKINS introduced a bill (S. 6189) granting a right of way to the Southern Pacific Railroad Company across the Fort Mason Military Reservation in California, which was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. WARREN introduced a bill (S. 6190) authorizing a resurvey of certain townships in the State of Wyoming, which was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 6191) for the relief of Lawson M. Fuller, major, Ordnance Department, United States Army, which was read twice by its title and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. TALIAFERRO introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 71) to provide for the removal of obstructions from the main ship channel, Key West Harbor, Florida, which was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

#### STATE CONTROL OF LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

Mr. CLAY. I submit an amendment intended to be proposed to the bill (S. 28) to amend the act of March 3, 1891, entitled "An act to provide for ocean-mail service between the United States and foreign ports and to promote commerce." I ask that the amendment be read, printed, and lie on the table.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the proposed amendment.

The SECRETARY. Add as an additional section the following:

SEC. 2. That from and after the passage of this act all fermented, distilled, or other intoxicating liquors or liquids transported into any State or Territory, or remaining therein for use, consumption, sale, or storage therein, shall, upon arrival within the borders of the State and before or after delivery to the consignee in such State or Territory, be



subject to the operation and effect of the laws of such State or Territory, enacted in the exercise of its police powers to the same extent and in the same manner as though such liquors had been produced in such State or Territory, and shall not be exempt therefrom by reason of being introduced therein in original packages or otherwise.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The proposed amendment will be printed and lie on the table.

#### AMENDMENT TO LEGISLATIVE, ETC., APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. FLINT submitted an amendment proposing to increase the appropriation for compensation and actual necessary traveling expenses of special agents to investigate trade conditions abroad, etc., Department of Commerce and Labor, from \$35,000 to \$50,000, intended to be proposed by him to the legislative, etc., appropriation bill, which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

#### AMENDMENTS TO OMNIBUS CLAIMS BILL.

Mr. BANKHEAD submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to House bill 15372, known as the "omnibus claims bill," which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

Mr. DICK submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to House bill 15372, known as the "omnibus claims bill," which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

Mr. McENERY submitted two amendments intended to be proposed by him to House bill 15372, known as the "omnibus claims bill," which were ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

#### COMMITTEE SERVICE.

Mr. CULBERSON. I am authorized by the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE] to ask that he be relieved from further service upon the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Texas, on behalf of the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE], asks that that Senator be excused from further service upon the Committee on Privileges and Elections. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

On motion of Mr. CULBERSON, and by unanimous consent, Mr. GORE was assigned to the vacancy upon the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

On motion of Mr. CULBERSON, and by unanimous consent, Mr. GARY was assigned to the Committees on the Census, Corporations Organized in the District of Columbia, Immigration, Manufactures, Pacific Railroads, Patents, Privileges and Elections, and Public Buildings and Grounds.

#### HOUSE BILLS REFERRED.

H. R. 13649. An act providing for the hearing of cases upon appeal from the district court for the district of Alaska in the circuit court of appeals for the ninth circuit, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 14789. An act to amend an act entitled "An act for the protection of game in Alaska, and for other purposes," approved June 7, 1902, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game.

H. R. 17296. An act providing for the restoration of the motto "In God we trust" on certain denominations of the gold and silver coins of the United States, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Finance.

#### REORGANIZATION OF CONSULAR SERVICE.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 4112) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the reorganization of the consular service of the United States," approved April 5, 1906.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I move that the Senate disagree to the amendments of the House of Representatives, ask for a conference with the House on the bill and amendments, and that the conferees on the part of the Senate be appointed by the Chair.

The motion was agreed to, and the Vice-President appointed Mr. LODGE, Mr. CULLOM, and Mr. BACON as the conferees on the part of the Senate.

#### MEDICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1424) to increase the efficiency of the Medical Department of the United States Army.

Mr. WARREN. I move that the Senate disagree to the amendments of the House of Representatives, ask for a conference with the House on the bill and amendments, and that the conferees on the part of the Senate be appointed by the Chair.

The motion was agreed to and the Vice-President appointed Mr. WARREN, Mr. SCOTT, and Mr. TALIAFERRO as conferees on the part of the Senate.

#### BETTER PROTECTION OF LIFE ON VESSELS.

The bill (H. R. 225) to amend section 4463 of the Revised Statutes, relating to the complement of crews of vessels and for the better protection of life, was read twice by its title.

Mr. FRYE. Mr. President, that is identical with the bill (S. 5787) to amend section 4463 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, being Order of Business 369. I ask unanimous consent that the Senate bill be indefinitely postponed, and that the House bill be substituted for it on the Calendar.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Maine asks unanimous consent that Senate bill 5787 be indefinitely postponed and that the House bill just reported be substituted in its place on the Calendar. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### LEGISLATIVE, ETC., APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. CULLOM. I observe that notice was given a few days ago that the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] would speak this morning immediately after the morning business. I do not know whether it is his purpose to do so or not. He does not seem to be in the Chamber. If he does not desire to take the floor, I wish to call up the legislative, etc., appropriation bill.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] does not appear to be in the Chamber.

Mr. CULLOM. I will ask the Senate to proceed with the bill and if he comes in I will give way.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 16882) making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1909, and for other purposes; which had been reported from the Committee on Appropriations with amendments.

Mr. CULLOM. I ask that the formal reading of the bill be dispensed with, that the bill be read for amendment, and that the amendments of the committee be first considered.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Illinois asks that the formal reading of the bill be dispensed with, that the bill be read for amendment, and that the amendments of the committee be first considered. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Secretary proceeded to read the bill. The first amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, under the sub-head of "Senate, Office of Secretary," on page 2, line 20, before the word "dollars," to insert "two hundred and fifty;" and in line 21, after the word "incumbent," to strike out "minute and journal clerk, and enrolling clerk, at \$3,000 each; principal clerk, \$2,750," and insert "enrolling clerk, \$3,000; minute and journal clerk, executive clerk, and principal clerk, at \$2,750 each," so as to read:

Office of Secretary: For Secretary of the Senate, including compensation as disbursing officer of the contingent fund of the Senate, \$5,000, and for compensation as disbursing officer of salaries of Senators, \$396; hire of horse and wagon for the Secretary's office, \$700; assistant secretary, Henry M. Rose, \$5,000; chief clerk, \$3,250; financial clerk, \$3,000, and \$1,250 additional while the office is held by the present incumbent; enrolling clerk, \$3,000; minute and journal clerk, executive clerk, and principal clerk, at \$2,750 each.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 3, line 7, to reduce the number of clerks in the office of the Secretary of the Senate at \$2,220 each from six to five.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 3, line 12, to increase the appropriation for the salary of the keeper of stationery from \$2,120 to \$2,400.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 3, line 17, to increase the total appropriation for the office of the Secretary of the Senate from \$78,016 to \$78,726.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 3, line 19, after the words "document room," to insert "(George H. Boyd)"; in line 21, before the word "dollars," to strike out "five hundred" and insert "seven hundred and fifty;" and on page 4, line 3, before the word "dollars," to strike out "nine thousand nine hundred and eighty" and insert "ten thousand two hundred and thirty," so as to make the clause read:

Document room: For superintendent of the document room (George H. Boyd), \$2,750; first assistant in document room, \$2,000; assistant in document room, \$1,600; assistant in document room, \$1,440; clerk to superintendent of document room, \$1,440; skilled laborer, \$1,000; in all, \$10,230.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the item of appropriation for

clerks and messengers to committees, on page 4, line 13, to increase the appropriation for the salary of the clerk and stenographer to the Committee on Finance from \$2,500 to \$3,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the item of appropriation for clerks and messengers to committees, on page 4, line 19, to increase the appropriation for salary of assistant clerk to the Committee on Commerce from \$1,440 to \$1,800.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 5, line 10, to increase the appropriation for the salary of the clerk to the Committee on Foreign Relations from \$2,220 to \$2,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 6, line 2, after the word "Tributaries," to strike out "Organization, Conduct, and Expenditures of the Executive Departments" and insert "Expenditures in the Department of State;" and in line 5, after the words "United States," to insert "Canadian Relations, Transportation Routes to the Seaboard."

Mr. DIXON. I merely rise to make an inquiry. The bill is being read for amendment?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It is; and the amendments of the committee are being first acted upon.

Mr. DIXON. Will it be in order later on to offer amendments other than the committee amendments?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator will have that privilege.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 6, line 11, to increase the total appropriation for clerks and messengers to committees from \$133,240 to \$138,820.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 6, line 13, before the word "clerks," to strike out "twenty" and insert "twenty-two;" and in line 15, before the word "dollars," to strike out "thirty-six thousand" and insert "thirty-nine thousand six hundred;" so as to make the clause read:

For twenty-two clerks to committees, at \$1,800 each, \$39,600.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was in the item of appropriation for office of Sergeant-at-Arms and Doorkeeper, on page 6, line 24, to reduce the number of messengers at \$1,440 each from forty-seven to forty-six.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 7, line 1, after the word "each," to strike out "two assistant messengers on the floor of the Senate, at \$1,440 each" and insert "two messengers on the floor of the Senate, at \$2,000 each."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. LODGE. I was called for a moment from the Senate Chamber and I had no idea the bill was coming up. We have gone by an amendment which I desired to take up, on page 3, superintendent of the document room. The amendment has already been passed by the Senate, I assume.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It has been agreed to.

Mr. LODGE. As it has been agreed to, I can only return to it, of course, by unanimous consent.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection the amendment will be regarded as open.

Mr. LODGE. It is the amendment in line 20, page 3, for superintendent of the document room. The superintendent of the document room named in the bill, George H. Boyd, has been in the service of the Senate and in the document room for twenty-six years. He has come up through all the grades and has just received the promotion, on the death of Mr. Smith. He has been a very faithful and excellent servant of the Senate, as the Senate is aware. The document room, as every Senator knows, is of immense importance to the comfort of the Senate and to the progress of legislation.

Mr. Smith received \$3,000, which was first given to him many years ago on account of his extremely good service. The superintendent of the document room in the House receives \$3,000 a year. He gets \$2,500 in this bill and \$500 on the general deficiency bill. There are employed in the document room of the House eleven persons; the superintendent has eight clerks and two assistants. Our superintendent has only four. Of course the work of the two document rooms does not materially vary.

I have asked to return to the amendment because I want to propose that the salary shall be kept at what it has been, \$3,000, and which is the same as the superintendent of the document room of the House receives. I see the committee has raised some other salaries here—the salary of the enrolling clerk and others—to which I have no possible objection. It seems to me

that this salary ought to be put on the same basis. The officer is a faithful officer, who has been, as I have said, twenty-six years in the document room alone.

Mr. CULLOM. The committee raised the salary from \$2,500 to \$2,750, and that is about as large as we thought he ought to have at this time. He was put in the office only a little while ago, and it seems to me that we treated him very well and that the Senator from Massachusetts ought to be satisfied with that increase. If we intend to increase the salaries of all the clerks in the Departments or in the Capitol we will increase many thousands before we get through. I hope the Senator from Massachusetts will be satisfied with the increase that we make.

Mr. LODGE. It is not an increase that I am proposing. I am proposing precisely the same salary that the superintendent of the document room of the Senate has had before. This is a reduction from the salary that he has had, and there are other increases made here. I am only asking that the salary should be maintained at what it has been. The same salary that I ask is given in the House. I am asking for no increase.

Mr. CULLOM. The Senator will see that the House made it \$2,500 and we increased it to \$2,750.

Mr. LODGE. The pay of the employees of the Senate is fixed by the Senate, practically. The House does not settle what we shall pay our employees any more than we try to settle the pay of theirs. They pay their superintendent of the document room \$3,000. I think that is a proper salary. We have paid our superintendent of the document room \$3,000 for many years. In the natural course of promotion Mr. Boyd has received the place after, as I said, a service of twenty-six years. All I ask is that the salary should be retained.

Mr. CULLOM. We increased the salary of Amzi Smith, formerly the superintendent of the document room, because of his extraordinary value in that position and on account of the fact that he had been there a great many years. I think the Senate had better let the salary stay just where it is.

Mr. LODGE. I offer an amendment to increase it to \$3,000—that is, to increase the amount fixed by the committee \$250, leaving the salary what it has been for many years.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Massachusetts proposes an amendment to the amendment of the committee which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 3, line 21, before the word "dollars," strike out "two thousand seven hundred and fifty" and insert "three thousand."

Mr. CULLOM. I simply desire to say again that the House put the salary at twenty-five hundred dollars; the Senate committee raised it to twenty-seven hundred and fifty dollars, and I hope the Senate will stand by the action of the committee.

Mr. HEMENWAY. Mr. Boyd has been receiving a salary of \$2,500. The committee pay him a compliment in the bill by appropriating for him by name, so that he holds the place. It is quite a compliment to an employee of either the Senate or House to be appropriated for by name. We added his name and increased the salary that he has been receiving \$250. The committee has given this matter very careful consideration, so as to keep it in line with other salaries, and the Senate, without very careful consideration, ought not to change the amount fixed by the committee.

If Mr. Boyd develops into such a man as Mr. Amzi Smith, who filled the position before Mr. Boyd was promoted to it, then at the next session of Congress his salary can be increased, but as we are now taking care of him by name in the bill and increasing his salary \$250, it looks like it should satisfy the Senator from Massachusetts and other Senators, who, no doubt, understand that Mr. Boyd is really a man of unusual ability.

Mr. HEYBURN. I should like to make an inquiry. Suppose we appropriate the salary for this man by name, would the salary be available should the man cease to become the officer, and we be called upon to appoint some one else?

Mr. HEMENWAY. It would not be available in that case. The salary for this particular position, if Mr. Boyd should die, would have to be taken care of in the deficiency appropriation bill.

Mr. HEYBURN. I would inquire as to the wisdom of making an appropriation of that kind. This is a general appropriation bill, and the compliment might be extended through some less inconvenient method. I think we should make an appropriation for the office rather than for any man by name. We would not be in a very good position if the office should become vacant during a recess of Congress, and I think probably it would be just as well to strike out the name. I will move that the name "George H. Boyd" be stricken out.

Mr. HEMENWAY. I hope the Senator will not do that. I will certainly oppose striking out the name, because Mr. Boyd,



by reason of his long service, is entitled to be appropriated for by name, but he ought to be satisfied with the increase of \$250 in salary that he gets in the bill without an additional increase.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, the case which the Senator from Idaho refers to occurred last summer, owing to the death of Mr. Smith. Under the existing law, Mr. Boyd simply took charge at the salary which he had as assistant, and it required action in the urgent deficiency bill to make an appropriation for the office of Superintendent of Documents. There was no difficulty in arranging that part of it. The Superintendent of Documents has already been named in the bill, as we name the Assistant Secretary of the Senate. I think that is a very proper thing to do, and I am glad the committee did it.

My only point is that I am not asking for an increase. I am not proposing to add one cent to what has been appropriated for the payment of this office for years. Since that additional salary was given to Amzi Smith years ago there has been an increase in all salaries and in living expenses very largely, and it seemed to me that there was no reason for bringing it below \$3,000.

Mr. BACON. I ask the Senator how long it has been since the salary of \$3,000 was given to Mr. Smith?

Mr. LODGE. I can not tell the Senator when Mr. Smith's salary was raised to \$3,000, but it was done before I entered the Senate.

Mr. BACON. That is the point of my inquiry, whether \$3,000 has been for a long time the recognized salary of the office.

Mr. HEMENWAY. If the Senator from Massachusetts will permit me, is it not true that the salary was given Mr. Smith because of his long service and unusual ability? The salary was not intended to go with the office, but it was simply a compliment to a man of unusual ability.

I wish to ask the Senator from Massachusetts another question. As a matter of fact, does not Mr. Boyd by this bill receive an increase of \$250 in the salary as compared with his salary received heretofore?

Mr. LODGE. He receives an increase of \$250 over the salary fixed by the urgent deficiency bill three months ago.

Mr. HEMENWAY. And the salary that he has constantly received as an employee of the Senate.

Mr. LODGE. Certainly; but he has been promoted. He has a different office; he has been raised. He has been trained there under Mr. Smith and he has been there, as I have stated, for twenty-six years, which is good proof of faithful service and that he understands the business of the office. It seems to me, in view of what the House pays and what Mr. Smith received, doing precisely the same duties with a force not half as large as the force given in the House, that \$3,000 is not an excessive salary and that there is no reason for giving the superintendent less than the office has received for many, many years.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Massachusetts to the amendment of the committee. It will be again stated by the Secretary.

The SECRETARY. On page 3, line 21, before the word "dollars," strike out "2,750" and insert in lieu thereof "3,000."

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Idaho propose an amendment to the amendment?

Mr. HEYBURN. I desire to withdraw the amendment in view of the action that has been taken.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The proposed amendment to the amendment is withdrawn.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. CULBERSON. I desire to know what became of the amendment on page 2 of the bill. Is the bill now being read for amendment?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It is being read for the consideration of amendments, and the committee amendments are first considered.

Mr. CULBERSON. I should like to have it understood that the amendment at the bottom of page 2 may be reserved for consideration at a future time. I understand that that is a reduction of the salary of certain officers of the Senate.

Mr. CULLOM. It is not. The action of the Senate just now in disposing of the superintendent of the document room increases the salary from \$2,750, as the committee had it, to \$3,000, according to the vote. I think it was a serious mistake to do it, but it has been done, and I recognize the fact.

Mr. CULBERSON. The Senator from Illinois may be correct, but I do not read the bill in that way.

Mr. CULLOM. I refer to the superintendent of the document room on page 4.

Mr. CULBERSON. In line 20, the words "minute and jour-

nal clerk and enrolling clerk, at \$3,000 each" have been stricken out and the words "enrolling clerk, \$3,000; minute and journal clerk," and so forth, "at \$2,750," inserted, showing that there has been a reduction.

Mr. CULLOM. Those amendments have been passed on and adopted.

Mr. CULBERSON. I understand. The bill is unexpectedly reached, and this amendment was adopted before Senators understood almost that the bill was being read. I simply requested that I might reserve an objection to this amendment for consideration at some other time.

Mr. CULLOM. The Senator will have a right to oppose the amendment when the bill gets into the Senate.

Mr. CULBERSON. I understand that, but I want it in Committee of the Whole also.

Mr. CULLOM. Well, that can be done, too.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will resume the reading of the bill.

The Secretary resumed the reading of the bill.

The next amendment was, on page 7, line 11, after the word "dollars," to insert "two skilled laborers, at \$1,000 each;" and in line 12, before the word "skilled," to strike out "four" and insert "two," so as to read:

Messenger to official reporters' room, to be selected by the official reporters, \$1,440; storekeeper, \$1,800; upholsterer and locksmith, \$1,440; four carpenters to assist him, at \$960 each; janitor, \$1,200; skilled laborer, \$1,000; two skilled laborers, at \$1,000 each; two skilled laborers, at \$900 each.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 7, line 17, after the word "dollars," to strike out "assistant in press gallery, \$900" and insert "superintendent of press gallery, \$1,600; assistant superintendent of press gallery, \$1,200," so as to read:

Laborer in charge of private passage, \$840; two female attendants in charge of ladies' retiring room, at \$720 each; two telephone operators, at \$900 each; telephone page, \$720; superintendent of press gallery, \$1,600; assistant superintendent of press gallery, \$1,200.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 8, line 1, to increase the total appropriation for office of Sergeant-at-Arms and Door-keeper from \$156,624 to \$158,404.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 8, line 7, before the word "hundred," to strike out "four" and insert "six;" and in line 11, before the word "and," to strike out "eighteen thousand nine hundred" and insert "nineteen thousand one hundred," so as to make the clause read:

Post-office: For Postmaster, \$2,250; assistant postmaster and mail carrier, \$2,088; clerk, \$1,600; seven mail carriers and one wagon messenger, at \$1,200 each; four riding pages, at \$912.50 each; in all, \$19,188.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 8, line 23, after the word "dollars," to insert "assistant engineer and electrician, \$1,800;" in line 24, before the word "assistant," to strike out "four" and insert "three;" on page 9, line 4, before the word "hundred," to strike out "two" and insert "four;" in line 7, after the word "dollars," to insert "one attendant for service in old library portion of the Capitol, \$1,500;" and in line 9, after the word "all," to strike out "twenty-seven thousand six hundred and sixty-five" and insert "twenty-nine thousand seven hundred and twenty-five," so as to make the clause read:

Under Superintendent of the Capitol Building and Grounds: For chief engineer, \$2,160; assistant engineer and electrician, \$1,800; three assistant engineers, at \$1,440 each; eight conductors of elevators, at \$1,200 each; machinist and electrician, \$1,400; machinist and electrician, \$1,400; three firemen, at \$1,095 each; five laborers, at \$720 each; laborer in charge of Senate toilet rooms in old library space, \$660; one attendant for service in old library portion of the Capitol, \$1,500; in all, \$29,725.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 9, line 12, before the word "annual," to strike out "twenty" and insert "thirty-two;" and in line 15, before the word "dollars," to strike out "thirty-six thousand" and insert "fifty-seven thousand six hundred," so as to make the clause read:

For thirty-two annual clerks to Senators who are not chairmen of committees, at \$1,800 each, \$57,600.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 9, line 23, after the words "one hundred," to insert "and fifty;" and in line 23, after the words "three hundred," to insert "and fifty," so as to make the clause read:

For postage stamps for the office of the Secretary of the Senate, \$200; for the office of the Sergeant-at-Arms, \$150; in all, \$350.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, at the top of page 10, to insert:  
To enable the postmaster of the Senate to keep a constant supply of postage stamps for sale to Senators, \$50.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 10, line 21, before the word "thousand," to strike out "seventy-five" and insert "one hundred and fifty," so as to make the clause read:

For miscellaneous items, exclusive of labor, \$150,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 11, line 4, before the word "thousand," to strike out "twenty" and insert "twenty-five," so as to make the clause read:

For expenses of inquiries and investigations ordered by the Senate, including compensation to stenographers to committees, at such rate as may be fixed by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, but not exceeding \$1.25 per printed page, \$25,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Under Superintendent of the Capitol Building and Grounds, on page 15, line 25, after the word "each," to insert "attendant, \$1,500, and watchman, \$900, for service in old library portion of the Capitol;" and on page 16, line 3, before the word "hundred," to strike out "twenty-four thousand two" and insert "twenty-six thousand six," so as to make the clause read:

Attendant, \$1,500, and watchman, \$900, for service in old library portion of the Capitol; in all, \$26,600.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the item of appropriation for "Office of Doorkeeper" (House of Representatives), on page 21, line 1, after the word "dollars," to strike out "for the following for service in old library portion of the Capitol (transferred from Office of Superintendent of the Capitol) two attendants, at \$1,500 each, and one watchman, \$900;" and in line 6, before the word "and," to strike out "seventy thousand" and insert "sixty-six thousand one hundred," so as to read:

In all, \$166,105.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 21, line 11, after the words "House of Representatives," to strike out "November 9, 1903," and insert "December 2, 1907," so as to read:

For the following minority employees authorized and named in the resolution adopted by the House of Representatives, December 2, 1907, namely, etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 22, line 23, before the word "preceding," to strike out "nine" and insert "eight," so as to make the clause read:

Successors to any of the employees provided for in the eight preceding paragraphs may be named by the House of Representatives at any time.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 30, line 18, after the word "dollars," to insert "assistant register of copyrights, \$2,500;" in line 23, before the word "clerks," to strike out "four" and insert "five;" and on page 31, line 9, before the word "hundred," to strike out "seventy-five thousand three" and insert "seventy-nine thousand four," so as to make the clause read:

Copyright office, under the direction of the Librarian of Congress: Register of copyrights, \$3,000; assistant register of copyrights, \$2,500; chief clerk and chief of bookkeeping division, \$2,000; chief of application division, \$2,000; two clerks, at \$1,800 each; five clerks, at \$1,600 each; eight clerks, at \$1,400 each; ten clerks, at \$1,200 each; eight clerks, at \$1,000 each; thirteen clerks, at \$900 each; two clerks, at \$800 each; ten clerks, at \$720 each; two clerks, at \$600 each; two messenger boys, at \$360 each. Arrears, special service: Three clerks, at \$1,200 each; porter, \$720; messenger boy, \$360; in all, \$79,400.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the item of appropriation for "Custody, care, and maintenance of Library building and grounds," on page 33, line 21, to increase the appropriation for the salary of "two telephone operators" from \$600 to \$720 each.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 34, line 6, to increase the number of charwomen in the Library building from 45 to 50.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 34, line 15, to increase the total appropriation for custody, care, and maintenance of Library building and grounds from \$76,785 to \$78,225.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Executive," on page 36, line 15, after the word "dollars," to insert "five doorkeepers, at \$1,400 each;" in line 16, before the word "doorkeepers," to strike out "eight" and insert "three;" in line 20, after the word "fireman," to insert "\$900;" and in line 23, before the word "dollars," to strike out "sixty-eight thousand

seven hundred and forty" and insert "sixty-nine thousand nine hundred and twenty," so as to read:

For compensation to the following in the office of the President of the United States: Secretary, \$6,000; two assistant secretaries at \$3,000 each; executive clerk, \$2,500; executive clerk and disbursing officer, \$2,000; seven clerks, at \$2,000 each; one clerk of class 4; one clerk of class 4, who shall be a telegrapher; four clerks of class 3; two clerks of class 2; steward, \$1,800; chief doorkeeper, \$1,800; five doorkeepers, at \$1,400 each; three doorkeepers, at \$1,200 each; four messengers, at \$1,200 each; five messengers, at \$900 each; watchman, \$900; one fireman, \$900; laborer, \$720; laborer, \$600; in all, \$69,920.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Civil Service Commission," on page 37, line 11, after the word "For," to insert "Commissioner, acting as president of the Commission, \$4,500;" in line 12, before the word "Commissioners," to strike out "three" and insert "two;" in line 18, before the word "clerks," to strike out "seven" and insert "eight;" in the same line, before the word "clerks," to strike out "fourteen" and insert "seventeen;" in line 20, before the word "clerks," where it occurs the second time, to strike out "twenty" and insert "twenty-one;" on page 38, line 1, after the word "laborers," to insert "messenger boy, \$480;" and in line 5, before the word "dollars," to strike out "seventy-five thousand four hundred and ten" and insert "eighty-three thousand nine hundred and ninety," so as to make the clause read:

#### CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.

For Commissioner, acting as president of the Commission, \$4,500; two Commissioners, at \$4,000 each; chief examiner, \$3,000; secretary, \$2,500; assistant chief examiner, \$2,250; two chiefs of division, at \$2,000 each; three examiners, at \$2,000 each; eight clerks of class 4; seventeen clerks of class 3; twenty-four clerks of class 2; twenty-nine clerks of class 1; twenty-one clerks, at \$1,000 each; ten clerks, at \$900 each; five clerks, at \$840 each; one messenger; engineer, \$840; one telephone switchboard operator; two firemen; two watchmen; one elevator conductor, \$720; three laborers; messenger boy, \$480; and three messenger boys, at \$360 each; in all, \$183,990.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 38, line 21, before the word "messenger," to strike out "assistant;" and in line 23, before the word "dollars," to strike out "seven hundred and twenty" and insert "eight hundred and forty," so as to read:

Rural carrier examining board: For one chief of division, \$2,000; one clerk of class 3; two clerks of class 2; three clerks of class 1; three clerks, at \$1,000 each; ten clerks, at \$900 each, and one messenger; in all, \$22,840.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Department of State," on page 39, line 13, to increase the appropriation for the compensation of the Assistant Secretary of State from \$4,500 to \$5,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the item of appropriation for the office of the Secretary of State on page 40, line 3, to increase the number of clerks of class four from 15 to 16.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 40, line 16, to increase the total appropriation for the office of the Secretary of State from \$246,400 to \$248,700.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the appropriations for contingent expenses, Department of State, on page 40, after line 20, to insert:

For an additional amount for the foregoing purposes, \$5,000.

Mr. BURKETT. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator in charge of the bill why the amendment which has just been stated, on page 40, lines 21 and 22, is made in the peculiar way in which it reads?

Mr. CULLOM. Mr. President, the desire on the part of those who are interested in it was that we should increase the item in the preceding paragraph from seven to twelve thousand dollars. We concluded finally to give them \$5,000 more, but to put it in a separate item, so that when the special reasons for the extra amount no longer exist they could drop back to the original amount for the next appropriation. The amendment is simply stated in a way to call attention to the increase for a special purpose, the immediate improvement of a few rooms, etc. It is exactly right.

Mr. BURKETT. Then, it is a special appropriation only for this year.

Mr. CULLOM. For this year simply, and we separate the item, so that it may be understood in that way.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Treasury Department," on page 41, line 13, after the word "dollars," to insert "First Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, \$5,000;" in line 15, before the word "Assistant," to strike out "three"



and insert "two;" and in line 24, before the word "hundred," to strike out "four" and insert "nine," so as to make the clause read:

**TREASURY DEPARTMENT.**

Office of the Secretary: For compensation of the Secretary of the Treasury, \$12,000; First Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, \$5,000; two Assistant Secretaries of the Treasury, at \$4,500 each; clerk to the Secretary, \$2,500; stenographer, \$1,800; three private secretaries, one to each Assistant Secretary, at \$1,800 each; Government actuary, under control of the Treasury, \$2,250; examiner, \$2,000; one clerk of class 4; four clerks of class 3; two clerks of class 2; four messengers, and one laborer; in all, \$54,970.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 42, line 3, after the word "dollars," to strike out "inspector of electric-light plants, gas and fixtures for all public buildings under control of the Treasury Department, \$2,250; assistant inspector of electric-light plants and draftsman, \$1,800," and insert "engineer in chief of all public buildings under the control of the Treasury Department, \$3,000; assistant engineer in chief of all public buildings under control of the Treasury Department, \$2,750."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the item of appropriation for the office of chief clerk and superintendent, Treasury Department, page 43, line 24, to increase the number of charwomen from six to eight.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 44, line 7, to increase the total appropriation for office of the chief clerk and superintendent, Treasury Department, from \$195,410 to \$197,590.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the item of appropriation, division of customs, Treasury Department, on page 44, line 24, to increase the number of clerks of class 2 from two to three.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 45, line 2, to increase the total appropriation for division of customs, Treasury Department, from \$38,380 to \$39,780.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 47, line 2, after the word "messenger," to strike out "one laborer," and insert "two laborers;" and in line 6, before the word "dollars," to strike out "two hundred and seventy-eight" and insert "nine hundred and thirty-eight," so as to make the clause read:

Division of printing and stationery: For chief of division, \$2,500; assistant chief of division, \$2,000; four clerks of class 4; five clerks of class 3; three clerks of class 2; one clerk of class 1; one clerk, \$1,000; two clerks, at \$900 each; three messengers; one assistant messenger; two laborers; foreman of bindery, at \$6 per day; four binders, at \$4 per day each; and two sewers and folders, at \$2.50 per day each; in all, \$40,938.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 47, line 9, after the word "dollars," to insert "one clerk of class 3;" and in line 15, after the word "all," to strike out "twenty-seven thousand four hundred," and insert "twenty-nine thousand," so as to make the clause read:

Division of mail and files: For chief of division, \$2,500; registered mail and bond clerk, \$1,800; one clerk of class 3; five clerks of class 2; additional to one clerk of class 2, in charge of documents, \$200; two clerks of class 1; one mail messenger, \$1,200; six clerks, at \$1,000 each; four clerks, at \$900 each; two assistant messengers; one laborer; one laborer, \$600; in all, \$29,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the item of appropriation for office of the Supervising Architect, on page 48, line 6, to increase the appropriation for the salary of the Supervising Architect from \$4,500 to \$5,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 48, line 26, to increase the total appropriation for office of the Supervising Architect from \$81,300 to \$81,800.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 51, line 8, before the word "clerks," to strike out "twenty-two" and insert "twenty-five;" in line 9, before the word "clerks," to strike out "eighteen" and insert sixteen;" in line 10, before the word "clerks," to strike out "fifteen" and insert "fourteen;" and in line 12, before the word "hundred," to strike out "one" and insert "eight," so as to make the clause read:

Office of Auditor for Navy Department: For Auditor, \$4,000; Deputy Auditor, \$2,500; law clerk, \$2,000; three chiefs of division, at \$2,000 each; ten clerks of class 4; nineteen clerks of class 3; fifteen clerks of class 2; twenty-five clerks of class 1; sixteen clerks, at \$1,000 each; fourteen clerks at \$900 each; one clerk, \$800; one messenger; one assistant messenger; and three laborers; in all, \$146,840.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 51, line 18, before the word "clerks," to strike out "twelve" and insert "thirteen;" in line 21, after the word "each," to insert "one messenger;" in line

23, before the word "four," to strike out "two assistant messengers" and insert "one assistant messenger;" and on line 25, after the word "all," to strike out "one hundred and sixty-eight thousand five hundred and eighty" and insert "one hundred and seventy thousand five hundred," so as to make the clause read:

Office of Auditor for Interior Department: For Auditor, \$4,000; Deputy Auditor, \$2,500; law clerk, \$2,000; three chiefs of division, at \$2,000 each; thirteen clerks of class 4; sixteen clerks of class 3; twenty-eight clerks of class 2; twenty-nine clerks of class 1; fifteen clerks, at \$1,000 each; ten clerks, at \$900 each; one messenger; one assistant messenger; four skilled laborers, at \$720 each; six laborers; and one female laborer, \$600; in all, \$170,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the item of appropriation for office of the Treasurer, on page 53, line 25, before the word "dollars," to strike out "one thousand eight hundred" and insert "two thousand;" on page 54, line 1, before the word "twenty-four," to insert "assistant clerk for the Treasurer, \$1,600;" in line 6, after the word "each," to insert "ten expert counters, at \$1,000 each;" and in line 8, before the word "expert," to strike out "fourteen" and insert "twenty," so as to read:

Office of the Treasurer: For Treasurer of the United States, \$6,000; Assistant Treasurer, \$3,600; Deputy Assistant Treasurer, \$3,200; cashier, \$3,600; assistant cashier, \$3,000; chief clerk, \$2,500; seven chiefs of divisions, at \$2,500 each; two assistant chiefs of divisions, at \$2,250 each; vault clerk, \$2,500; principal bookkeeper, \$2,500; assistant bookkeeper, \$2,100; two tellers, at \$2,500 each; two assistant tellers, at \$2,250 each; one vault clerk, bond division, \$2,000; clerk for the Treasurer, \$2,000; assistant clerk for the Treasurer, \$1,600; twenty-four clerks of class 4; eighteen clerks of class 3; sixteen clerks of class 2; coin clerk, \$1,400; thirty-one clerks of class 1; seventeen clerks, at \$1,000 each; fifty-six clerks, at \$900 each; ten expert counters, at \$1,000 each; ten expert counters, at \$900 each; twenty expert counters, at \$800 each.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the item of appropriation for office of the Treasurer, on page 54, line 11, after the word "each," to strike out "mail messenger, \$840" and insert "two mail messengers, at \$840 each;" in line 13, before the word "messengers," to strike out "seven" and insert "twelve;" in the same line, before the word "assistant," to strike out "six" and insert "twelve;" and in line 14, before the word "laborers," to strike out "thirty-one" and insert "seventeen," so as to read:

Sixty-five expert counters, at \$720 each; nine expert counters, at \$700 each; two mail messengers, at \$840 each; twelve messengers; twelve assistant messengers; seventeen laborers, etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 54, line 22, to increase the total appropriation for the office of the Treasurer from \$436,200 to \$452,920.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 55, line 6, before the word "expert," to strike out "fifteen" and insert "eighteen;" in line 8, before the word "expert," to strike out "twenty-one" and insert "twenty-four;" in line 13, before the word "hundred," to strike out "twenty-eight thousand four" and insert "thirty-four thousand one," so as to make the clause read:

For the force employed in redeeming the national currency (to be reimbursed by the national banks), namely: For superintendent, \$3,500; teller, \$2,500; bookkeeper, \$2,400; assistant teller, \$2,000; assistant bookkeeper, \$2,000; three clerks of class 4; five clerks of class 3; seven clerks of class 2; twenty-five clerks of class 1; eighteen expert counters, at \$1,000 each; twenty-four expert counters, at \$900 each; twenty-one expert counters, at \$800 each; eleven expert counters, at \$700 each; one messenger; four assistant messengers; and three charwomen; in all, \$134,140.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 56, line 4, after the word "thousand," to insert "five hundred;" and in line 6, after the word "dollars," to insert "Deputy Comptroller, \$3,000," so as to read:

For Comptroller of the Currency, \$5,500; Deputy Comptroller, \$3,500; Deputy Comptroller, \$3,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 56, line 20, to increase the total appropriation for office of the Comptroller of the Currency from \$125,920 to \$129,420.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 57, line 22, before the word "heads," to strike out "six" and insert "seven;" on page 58, line 1, before the word "clerks," to strike out "twenty-eight" and insert "twenty-nine;" in line 2, before the word "clerks," to strike out "twenty-four" and insert "twenty-three;" in line 3, after the word "one," to insert "additional to one clerk of class 1 as disbursing clerk, \$200;" in line 6, before the word "messengers," to strike out "two" and insert "three;" in line 7, before the word "assistant," to strike out "nineteen" and insert "eighteen;" and in line 8, before the

word "dollars," to strike out "twenty-five thousand nine hundred and sixty" and insert "twenty-eight thousand seven hundred and thirty," so as to make the clause read:

Office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue: For Commissioner of Internal Revenue, \$6,000; deputy commissioner, \$4,000; deputy commissioner, \$3,600; chemist, \$2,500; one first assistant chemist, \$1,800; one second assistant chemist, \$1,600; one third assistant chemist, \$1,400; one fourth assistant chemist, \$1,200; two heads of divisions, at \$2,500 each; seven heads of divisions, at \$2,250 each; superintendent of stamp vault, \$2,000; private secretary, \$1,800; twenty-nine clerks of class 4; twenty-three clerks of class 3; thirty-six clerks of class 2; thirty-six clerks of class 1; additional to one clerk of class 1 as disbursing clerk, \$200; thirty-one clerks, at \$1,000 each; forty-four clerks at \$900 each; three messengers; eighteen assistant messengers; and twenty laborers; in all, \$328,730.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 58, line 24, before the word "clerks," to strike out "three" and insert "four;" in line 25, before the word "clerks," to strike out "two" and insert "three;" on page 59, in line 1, after the word "each," to strike out "one clerk, \$900," and insert "two clerks, at \$900 each; one messenger;" and in line 5, after the word "all," to strike out "forty-six thousand one hundred" and insert "fifty thousand six hundred and forty," so as to make the clause read:

Office of Life-Saving Service: For General Superintendent of the Life-Saving Service, \$4,000, and \$500 additional while the office is held by the present incumbent; assistant general superintendent, \$2,500; principal clerk, \$2,000; title and contract clerk, \$2,000; topographer and hydrographer, \$1,800; civil engineer, \$1,800; draftsman, \$1,500; four clerks of class 4; five clerks of class 3; four clerks of class 2; five clerks of class 1; three clerks, at \$1,000 each; two clerks, at \$900 each; one messenger; two assistant messengers; and one laborer; in all \$50,640.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 59, line 7, before the word "dollars," to strike out "four thousand five hundred" and insert "five thousand;" in line 8, before the word "dollars," to insert "five hundred;" in line 10, before the word "clerks" to strike out "three" and insert "four;" and in line 19, after the word "each," to strike out "one helper, \$900" and insert "two helpers, at \$900 each," so as to read:

Bureau of Engraving and Printing: For Director of Bureau, \$5,000; Assistant Director, \$3,500; accountant, \$2,500; stenographer, \$1,800; four clerks of class 3; nine clerks of class 2; nine clerks of class 1; seven clerks, at \$1,000 each; disbursing agent, \$2,400; storekeeper, \$1,600; assistant storekeeper, \$1,000; clerk in charge of purchases and supplies, \$2,000; ten clerks, at \$900 each; four clerks, at \$840 each; eleven clerks, at \$780 each; nine attendants, at \$600 each; two helpers, at \$900 each.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the item of appropriation for Bureau of Engraving and Printing, on page 60, line 5, before the word "laborers," to strike out "seventy" and insert "seventy-five;" and in line 7, before the word "hundred," to strike out "one hundred and ninety-four thousand one" and insert "two hundred thousand three," so as to read:

Seventy-five laborers, at \$540 each; in all, \$200,300.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 61, line 21, after the word "thousand," to insert "two hundred and fifty;" in line 22, after the word "dollars," to insert "principal clerk, who shall also perform the duties of law clerk, \$2,000;" in line 24, before the word "clerks," to strike out "three" and insert "two;" and on page 62, line 5, after the word "all," to strike out "thirty-nine thousand seven hundred and eighty" and insert "forty thousand two hundred and thirty," so as to make the clause read:

Office of Surgeon-General of Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service: For Surgeon-General, \$5,000; chief clerk, \$2,250; principal clerk, who shall also perform the duties of law clerk, \$2,000; two clerks of class 4; two clerks of class 3; private secretary to the Surgeon-General, \$1,800; six clerks of class 2, one of whom shall be translator; six clerks of class 1; three clerks, at \$900 each; one messenger; three assistant messengers; and two laborers, at \$540 each; in all, \$40,230.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 62, line 18, after the word "For," to insert "newspapers," so as to make the clause read:

For newspapers, newspaper clippings, law books, city directories, and other books of reference relating to the business of the Department, \$1,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 63, line 7, after the word "dollars," to insert "of which amount \$8,500 shall be used for the rent of the Small Building," so as to make the clause read:

For rent of buildings, \$47,566, of which amount \$8,500 shall be used for the rent of the Small Building.

Mr. DOLLIVER. Mr. President, I desire to ask what the amendment, on page 63, in line 7, proposing to make an appropriation of \$8,500 is for? Provision is made there that \$8,500 shall be used for the rent of the Small Building. What is that building rented for?

Mr. HEMENWAY. That building is rented for the Treasury Department.

Mr. DOLLIVER. For what purpose?

Mr. HEMENWAY. I do not know what particular branch of the Department, but I think a part of the Auditor's office.

Mr. DOLLIVER. I am informed, Mr. President, that it is intended to house in the Small Building a body of clerks who are now housed in the main building of the Treasury Department. The Small Building is a fire trap, unfit for the purpose for which it has been rented, in my judgment, and I offer a substitute for the committee amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Iowa proposes to amend the amendment of the committee. The amendment to the amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 63, line 7, after the word "dollars," the Committee on Appropriations reported an amendment to insert "of which amount \$8,500 shall be used for the rent of the Small Building." It is now proposed to substitute for those words the following:

No part of which shall be available for the rent of any building unless the Supervising Architect shall certify to the Secretary of the Treasury that he has investigated the same and finds it reasonably free from danger from fire.

Mr. DOLLIVER. Mr. President, I understand that it is the intention of the Treasury Department to move the offices of the Auditor for the State Department from the Treasury Building and house nearly a hundred clerks in what is known as the Small Building on Fourteenth street. The Small Building is four or five stories high, apparently a cheaply built structure, with narrow wooden stairways. It looks like a fire trap in every sense of the word, and for that reason a place unfit to put our civil servants at work. I think it ought to be brought to public attention that a very serious wrong is being done in renting unsuitable and ancient brick buildings in this town for the purpose of housing Government employees, when everybody knows that every day of their service in such a place they are under a constant threat of fire.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Indiana?

Mr. DOLLIVER. Certainly.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Is it not also true that, by reason of the occupancy of this building, very important public documents and archives will be required to be kept there?

Mr. DOLLIVER. Undoubtedly, the accounts of the State Department are to be housed there. I will say further—

Mr. WARREN. Do I understand the Senator—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Wyoming?

Mr. DOLLIVER. Certainly.

Mr. WARREN. Do I understand the Senator from Iowa to say that all the papers and documents of the State Department will be housed there?

Mr. DOLLIVER. Not all the papers; but the papers relating to the accounts of the State Department with the Treasury Department.

I will add that the first floor of this building, which is a narrow, high building, is occupied as a flower store, and the four stories, which are probably not suitable to any other business, are worked off on the Government by somebody, at a rental of \$8,500 a year, which would indicate a value of \$250,000, when the building itself could be constructed for practically three years' rent.

The matter requires attention, and I have drawn attention to it by offering an amendment that no part of the money appropriated to the Treasury Department for the rent of buildings shall be available unless the Architect of the Treasury certifies to the Secretary that he has investigated the premises and finds them reasonably free from danger by fire. I would have said "a fireproof building," but I do not desire to embarrass the Treasury Department, because many of the buildings which it rents are for purposes that may not require so strict a standard as that; and yet it seems to me that it is little short of a crime to take a hundred young men and young women and place them in that building under the circumstances, and it certainly is a waste of money to pay \$8,500 a year for a building like that.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, the Senator from Iowa has evidently been misinformed. The committee, in providing for this building, is simply following an estimate duly made by the Secretary of the Treasury. I will send to the desk the estimate and a description of the building, and ask that they may be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

Mr. BURKETT. I should like to ask the Senator a question before those papers are read. Why is there specified in



the bill the name of this particular building, and why is the Department limited to this particular building with reference to spending \$8,500 of this appropriation and not with reference to spending for rent all the rest of the large amount appropriated? Why is the rental of this building legislated for?

Mr. WARREN. I will say to the Senator from Nebraska that it is not an unusual thing. There are other places in this bill where the names of buildings are given; for instance, in the cases of the Mills Building, the Union Building, and others, the names are given, and a stated amount is appropriated for rooms in such buildings. In this particular case we followed the estimate as it was made, and I may say that we assumed that the Secretary of the Treasury had arranged practically for this building; that the tenants, as their terms expire, are refused renewal of leases with the expectation that Congress will provide, according to the estimate; that painting and other work is being done, etc.

As to the character of the building, I may say that the building was built especially strong; especially heavy and safe and fireproof, in order to accommodate the telephone headquarters, which formerly occupied it. I will not go further on that point just now, because the statement I have sent to the desk fully covers a description of the building.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the Secretary will read as requested by the Senator from Wyoming.

The Secretary proceeded to read the papers, which are as follows:

[House Document No. 354, Sixtieth Congress, first session.]

ESTIMATE FOR RENT OF OFFICES OF AUDITOR FOR STATE AND OTHER DEPARTMENTS.

Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, submitting an estimate of appropriation for rent of offices for Auditor for State and other Departments. December 16, 1907, referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,  
Washington, December 11, 1907.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith, for the favorable consideration of Congress, an estimate of appropriation for rent of additional rooms for the use of this Department in the Small Building, southeast corner of Fourteenth and G streets NW., for offices of the Auditor for State and other Departments, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1909, \$8,500.

Respectfully,  
GEO. B. CORTELYOU,  
Secretary.

The SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

*Estimates of appropriations required for the service of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1909, by the chief clerk and superintendent, Treasury Department.*

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

Contingent expenses, Treasury Department, rent:

Rent of building, namely—

For rent of the second, third, fourth, and fifth floors of the Small Building, southeast corner of Fourteenth and G streets NW., Washington, D. C., including light, heat, janitor, elevator service, and repairs, for offices of the Auditor for the State and other Departments (submitted), \$8,500.

NOTE.—Estimate for remainder of fiscal year 1908 submitted in agent deficiencies.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,  
Washington, January 28, 1908.

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

SIR: An investigation of the sanitary conditions of the Treasury building reveals the fact that in the rooms occupied by clerks there is only an average of about 56 square feet of floor space available for use. This fact and the increasing business of the Department require that, in order to make room, the office of the Auditor for the State and Other Departments should be removed therefrom.

In the deficiency bill that is before the Congress at this time there has been provision made for eight or ten clerks and it is not known by the superintendent of the building where these clerks can be accommodated, without serious inconvenience to the working force in the divisions in which it is proposed to locate them.

A considerable increase is asked for in the legislative, executive, and judicial bill for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1908, in the Treasurer's office, where the work is constantly increasing, owing to the enlarged output of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. The redemption division is now very much overcrowded, as is also the issue division, where preparations are now being made for the installation of three new sealing presses to complete the issues of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. There is no place at this time where these presses can be placed.

A committee was recently appointed to reassign the rooms in the Treasury building, to make proper accommodations for the clerical and working forces in the event that the office of the Auditor for the State and other Departments was removed. This committee reported the plan of reassignment, which, if carried out, will leave in the Treasury building only two small rooms for future demands.

A careful investigation was made of all buildings that might be rented by the Department, and it was decided that the building at the corner of Fourteenth and G streets, known as the "Small Building," owing to its location, its construction, its rooms, and its general facilities, was best available for the purpose.

This building is considered by competent builders to be one of the best in the city. The walls are of brick and cement, are 2 feet thick at the first floor, and 18 inches thick at the fifth floor, while an ordinary five-story building would be 12 inches thick. The building is five stories in height, and it is desired to rent the second, third, fourth, and fifth floors, and one room in basement.

The interior is of thorough construction and is fireproof, having heavy iron beams throughout each floor, with 9-inch brick arches between

beams laid in cement, with only a 5-foot span. There is also a brick wall between the rooms and hall throughout the entire building up and under the roof, which is of the same beam construction as the brick arches.

Each floor consists of one room 8 by 16 feet and one large room 25 by 60 feet, extending the entire length of the building. The ceilings are 10 feet 9 inches high. There are toilets on each floor, consisting of three bowls and two urinals, with slop sink.

The present floor space occupied by the seventy-seven employees of the office of the Auditor for the State and other Departments is 5,742. The Small Building has approximately 7,600 square feet. Besides the space occupied by the office force there would be available over 1,800 square feet of filing space for the accommodation of papers.

One fact which deserves consideration in the contemplated removal of an office from the Treasury building is the space which can be provided for files. In moving former bureau file cases in use had to be materially cut down and rearranged, because of the method of modern construction to make rooms with comparatively low ceilings. In the Small Building, the ceiling being 10 feet 9 inches high, very little cutting or rearranging will have to be made, and the furniture now used can be transferred and advantageously placed.

The owners of the building contemplate expending about \$8,000 to place this building in the condition which the Treasury Department requires, by painting the entire interior, by putting in new plumbing throughout, a new elevator, new iron stairways, new tile floor in vestibule, new floors, new electric lighting facilities, and furnish light, heat, elevator, and janitor service. When the repairs are made the building will be as nearly fireproof as a building can be made.

Respectfully,

W. W. LUDLOW, Chief Clerk.

SMALL BUILDING, 7,570 SQUARE FEET.

The second, third, fourth, and fifth floors of the Small Building contain on each floor one small room 8 feet by 16 feet and one large room 25 feet by 60 feet, with two bay-window projections 5 feet by 11 feet, making 1,738 feet, or about 7,000 square feet on the four floors, besides a file room in the basement 22 feet by 28 feet, or 618 square feet, making a total of 7,576 square feet. Allowing 5,742 square feet of floor space to be occupied by the office of the Auditor for the State and other Departments, there would remain for the storage of files 1,200 square feet on the fifth floor and 624 square feet in the basement, a total of 1,818 square feet.

The bureau referred to is divided into three divisions, viz, miscellaneous, judicial, diplomatic and consular, with the following number of clerks: Miscellaneous, twenty-six; judicial, twenty-two; diplomatic and consular, twenty.

The miscellaneous division now occupies two rooms, No. 372½, on the third floor, twelve clerks, and fourteen clerks in room No. 451, fourth floor. The judicial division is in room No. 369. The diplomatic and consular divisions have clerks in three rooms—seven in room No. 378, eleven in No. 379, and two in No. 451.

The advantage of the large rooms in the Small Building is that each floor would accommodate a division, except one, which would have to be divided on account of the Auditor, deputy, and law clerk occupying part of one floor.

MARCH 10, 1908.

SUPERVISING ARCHITECT,

Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.

SIR: Pursuant to your verbal instructions, the undersigned has visited the Small Building, Fourteenth and G streets, with a view to determining its fireproofness.

The building has heavy exterior and interior brick walls supporting steel beams with brick floor arches sprung between bottom flanges of beams. Beam flanges are exposed, as are also numerous tie-rods. Window and door frames, interior trim, floor covering, etc., are of wood. Rafters and sheathing are of wood, with tin roofing. New first-story stairs are of metal and slate; second-story stairs and those above are of wood. Elevator shaft is of wood and open woven-wire grilling. Short runs of electric wires from outlet to present fixture locations are incased in wood conduits. Each story above the first has windows in the east wall. Similar conditions as to windows in south wall in top stories. A fire escape runs the height of the building on the G-street front.

It is to be noted that the owner is putting in new stairs, flooring, new plumbing, painting walls, varnishing woodwork, etc. Probably the present wooden stairs and elevator shaft inclosure will be replaced with more nonflammable materials. I am informed that metal frames and wired glass windows can be put into the east wall, or that, should the Government desire the property, anything will be done to improve the property which the Government may suggest.

I am, sir, very respectfully,

R. B. HAYES.

OFFICE OF THE ENGINEER COMMISSIONER  
OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,  
Washington, March 11, 1908.

Mr. W. W. LUDLOW,

Chief Clerk Treasury Department.

SIR: Replying to your letter of the 28th of January, 1908, I beg to say that an examination of the Small Building, southeast corner Fourteenth and G streets NW., shows same to be of fireproof construction, and of such structural stability as to be suitable for office purposes.

The apparent delay in answering your communication is due to the fact that it was found necessary to remove several of the floors of the building in order that a thorough examination could be made of all structural features.

Very respectfully,

JOHN P. HEALY,  
Acting Inspector of Buildings.

Mr. WARREN (during the reading). I do not care for the further reading. However, it seemed to me but just, after the building had been attacked on the floor of the Senate and stated to be a fire trap, not fireproof, and so forth, that there should also be put in the RECORD a statement made by a committee which was appointed to investigate the building, together with report to Supervising Architect and report of inspector of buildings. I have no particular desire that the name of the building shall be included in the bill, but I do know it, per-

sonally, to be a desirable building and in no way such a building as my friend from Iowa has described.

Mr. DOLLIVER. If my friend the Senator from Wyoming will permit me—

Mr. WARREN. There was no pressure upon us to include name. We simply took the matter as it came to us from the Secretary of the Treasury in an estimate and inserted it as it came, just as we inserted the names of the Union Building and others.

Mr. DOLLIVER. Then, what objection—

Mr. WARREN. I have no objection to striking out the words "the Small Building;" but I did object to making a record here against the building of a good citizen of this city, which is not according to the facts as stated by those who have examined officially said building.

Mr. DOLLIVER. What, then, would be the objection to adding the suggestion of my amendment?

Mr. WARREN. I will say that it would be subject to the point of order. We are not legislating in the bill how the Government shall rent. We are simply providing the money. I will withdraw the name of the building and make the point of order against the amendment offered by the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. DOLLIVER. I do not think the point of order is good. The amendment is a mere limitation upon the expenditure.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I am very glad the Senator from Iowa [Mr. DOLLIVER] has brought up the matter of insecure buildings. A few years ago I was one of a committee to examine and make report on the old part of the public printing building in the city, and the report of the subcommittee was unanimous that the building was unsafe, and that it was liable to collapse with the weight then in it. Yet there has been nothing done, and time and again when you, Mr. President, were chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, and since have we tried to get the Senate and also the House to appropriate money to put up buildings suitable for the work and to subserve the convenience of the Government.

We are penny wise and pound foolish. This Government today is paying not less than 12 per cent on money invested by individuals in buildings to house the branches of the different Departments, when the Government can borrow all the money it wants at 2 per cent; and yet bill after bill is turned down for the reason, as claimed by Senators and Members of the House, that it is economy. It is foolish economy. There is not economy in it.

Mr. PERKINS. I desire to say to my friend, the Senator from West Virginia, that we are paying \$412,000 per annum for rented buildings in the city of Washington.

Mr. SCOTT. Thank you.

Mr. CULLOM. Will the Senator from West Virginia permit me?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from West Virginia yield to the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. SCOTT. I will be through in just a moment. I am in hopes that the discussion this morning will open the eyes of Senators to the condition, and that they will be more liberal in supporting the bills that come from the committee of which I have the honor to be chairman, in order to house the different Departments of this Government in this great city of ours. It is an outrage that the Government acts as it does. Look at the Department of Justice, housed in an old hotel building on a side street, and other Departments all over the city in rented structures, when this great Government has a surplus of money and ought to provide buildings for the different Departments.

Mr. CULLOM. I will take the liberty of asking that the words in line 7, beginning with the word "of," to the end of the amendment be stricken out. It will leave the words "Small Building" entirely out of the consideration of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Iowa insist upon his amendment?

Mr. DOLLIVER. I do.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Iowa proposes an amendment, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 63, line 7, after the committee amendment, it is proposed to insert:

No part of which shall be available for the rent of any building unless the Supervising Architect shall certify to the Secretary of the Treasury he has investigated the same and finds it reasonably free from danger from fire.

Mr. CULLOM. Mr. President, the point of order, I think, will lie against the amendment. I simply propose to strike out the amendment which the committee made to the bill. I think the point of order made by the Senator from Wyoming

against the amendment offered by the Senator from Iowa is good; and if it is, that disposes of the amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question will first come on the amendment to perfect the amendment.

Mr. CULLOM. I do not propose to perfect the amendment, but simply to strike out the words I have indicated.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Will the Senator from Illinois restate his proposition?

Mr. CULLOM. My proposition is to strike out, in line 7 of the bill, page 63, beginning with the word "of," the balance of that line and all of the next line, which leaves the words "Small Building" entirely out of the case.

Mr. WARREN. That is in line with perfecting the bill by the committee, which should first be taken care of.

Mr. TELLER. Has an order been entered to strike that out? If so, it leaves the amendment of the Senator from Iowa pending.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to striking out the committee amendment? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. TELLER. I think it would embarrass the Treasury Department to put on the amendment which the Senator from Iowa has proposed, and I make the point of order against it that it is legislation. I do not know but that the point was made by the chairman of the committee. I think it was.

Mr. CULLOM. I think the Senator from Wyoming made the point of order against the amendment of the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. TELLER. Let us have a ruling on that.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair is of opinion that the point of order is not well taken. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. TELLER. I move to lay on the table the amendment of the Senator from Iowa.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. WARREN. The insertion of the name of the building was entirely without request or application on the part of the owners of the building proposed to be rented. It was inserted merely upon the estimate as it came to the committee from the Secretary of the Treasury.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The reading of the bill will be resumed.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, on page 67, line 19, after the word "each," to strike out "messenger, at \$840" and insert "two messengers, at \$840 each;" and in line 23, before the word "dollars," to insert "eight hundred and forty," so as to make the clause read:

Office of assistant treasurer at Baltimore: For assistant treasurer, \$4,500; cashier, \$2,500; three clerks, at \$1,800 each; two clerks, at \$1,600 each; four clerks, at \$1,400 each; bookkeeper and three clerks, at \$1,200 each; five clerks, at \$1,000 each; two messengers, at \$840 each; three watchmen, at \$720 each; in all, \$34,840.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 67, line 25, after the word "dollars" to strike out "chief clerk and paying teller, at \$2,500 each," and insert "cashier, \$3,000; paying teller, \$2,500," so as to make the clause read:

Office of assistant treasurer at Boston: For assistant treasurer, \$5,000; cashier, \$3,000; paying teller, \$2,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 68, line 13, to increase the number of clerks at \$1,000 each in the office of the assistant treasurer at Boston from eight to ten.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 68, line 18, to increase the total appropriation for office of assistant treasurer at Boston from \$46,710 to \$49,210.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the item "Office of assistant treasurer at Chicago," on page 69, line 4, after the word "dollars" to insert "one chief coin, coupon, and currency clerk, at \$1,750," and in line 6, before the word "coin," to strike out "four" and insert "three," so as to read:

Assistant paying teller, \$1,600; one chief coin, coupon, and currency clerk, at \$1,750; three coin, coupon, and currency clerks, at \$1,500 each.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 69, line 14, to increase the total appropriation for office of assistant treasurer at Chicago from \$72,400 to \$72,650.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 70, line 6, before the word "dollars," to strike out "two hundred and fifty" and insert "five hundred;" and in line 17, before the word "dollars," to



strike out "twenty-eight thousand eight hundred and ninety" and insert "twenty-nine thousand one hundred and forty," so as to make the clause read:

Office of assistant treasurer at New Orleans: For assistant treasurer, \$4,500; chief clerk and cashier, \$2,500; receiving teller, and paying teller, at \$2,000 each; vault clerk, \$1,800; two bookkeepers, at \$1,500 each; coin clerk, \$1,200; six clerks, at \$1,200 each; two clerks, at \$1,000 each; porter and messenger, \$500; day watchman, \$720; night watchman, \$720; typewriter and stenographer, \$1,000; in all \$29,140.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 74, line 18, before the word "thousand," to strike out "twelve" and insert "thirteen," so as to make the clause read:

For paper for interest, transfer, redemption, pension, and other checks and drafts for the use of the Treasurer of the United States, assistant treasurers, pension agents, disbursing officers, and others, \$13,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 77, line 13, after the word "exceeding," to insert "two thousand," so as to make the clause read:

For incidental and contingent expenses, including new machinery and repairs, exclusive of that required for the refinery, expenses annual assay commission, melters' and refiners' wastage, and loss on sale of sweeps arising from the manufacture of ingots for coinage, and wastage and loss on sale of coiners' sweeps, and not exceeding \$2,500 in value of specimen coins and ores for the cabinet of the mint, \$85,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead assay office at Seattle, Wash., on page 81, line 8, before the word "thousand," to strike out "fourteen" and insert "sixteen;" and in line 9, before the word "dollars," to strike out "thirty thousand and twenty" and insert "thirty-two thousand," so as to make the clause read:

For wages for workmen, and not exceeding \$16,000 for other clerks and employees, \$32,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, at the top of page 82, to insert:

That the appropriation for incidental and contingent expenses of the office of the governor of Alaska for the fiscal year 1908 shall be available for the purchase and repair of furniture in the governor's office and quarters at Juneau, Alaska, and for alterations and repairs of buildings occupied as office and quarters.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 84, line 25, before the word "dollars," to strike out "four thousand five hundred" and insert "five thousand;" on page 85, line 1, after the word "clerk," to insert "and assistant;" in the same line, before the word "thousand," to strike out "three" and insert "four;" in line 4, before the word "dollars," to insert "two hundred and fifty;" in line 7, before the word "dollars," to strike out "one hundred" and insert "two hundred and fifty;" in line 15, before the word "clerks," to strike out "fourteen" and insert "fifteen;" in line 16, before the word "clerks," to strike out "eighteen" and insert "nineteen;" in line 22, after the word "messengers," to strike out "one telephone switchboard operator, one assistant telephone switchboard operator" and insert "two telephone switchboard operators;" and on page 86, line 10, to strike out "forty-two thousand five hundred and sixty" and insert "forty-seven thousand one hundred and eighty," so as to make the clause read:

#### WAR DEPARTMENT.

Office of the Secretary: For compensation of the Secretary of War, \$12,000; Assistant Secretary, \$5,000; chief clerk and assistant, \$4,000; private secretary to the Secretary, \$2,500; clerk to the Secretary, \$2,250; stenographer to the Secretary, \$1,800; clerk to the Assistant Secretary, \$2,250; clerk to the chief clerk, \$2,100; disbursing clerk, \$2,500; appointment clerk, \$2,000; four chiefs of division, at \$2,000 each; superintendent of buildings outside of State, War, and Navy Department building, in addition to compensation as chief of division, \$250; chief telegrapher, \$1,800; four clerks of class 4; four clerks of class 3; fifteen clerks of class 2; nineteen clerks of class 1; five clerks, at \$1,000 each; one clerk, \$900; one clerk, \$720; one foreman, \$1,200; carpenter, \$1,000; chief messenger, \$1,000; one carpenter, \$900; one skilled laborer, \$900; six messengers; seven assistant messengers; two telephone switchboard operators; two messenger boys, at \$360 each; engineer, \$900; assistant engineer, \$720; one fireman; four watchmen; five watchmen, at \$660 each; eight laborers; two laborers, at \$470 each; hostler, \$600; two hostlers, and one watchman, at \$540 each; one messenger boy, \$480; two elevator conductors, one at \$600 and one at \$470; four charwomen; in all, \$147,180.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 87, line 12, before the word "of," to strike out "one clerk" and insert "two clerks;" in the same line, before the word "clerks," to strike out "five" and insert "six;" in line 14, before the word "two," to strike out "two clerks, at \$1,000 each; two copyists" and insert "one copyist;" and in line 15, before the word "hundred," to strike out "eight" and insert "five;" so as to make the clause read:

Office of the Judge-Advocate-General: For chief clerk and solicitor, \$2,250; one clerk of class 4; two clerks of class 3; two clerks of class 2; six clerks of class 1; one copyist; two messengers; and one assistant messenger; in all, \$20,550.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 87, line 17, after the word "four," to insert "one clerk of class 3;" and in line 23, before the word "hundred," to strike out "twenty-five thousand eight" and insert "twenty-seven thousand four;" so as to make the clause read:

Signal Office: For chief clerk, \$2,000; two clerks of class 4; one clerk of class 3; two clerks of class 2; four clerks of class 1; six clerks, at \$1,000 each; three clerks, at \$900 each; two clerks, at \$840 each; one messenger; one assistant messenger; and one laborer; in all, \$27,400.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 88, line 12, after the word "thousand," to insert "two hundred and fifty;" in the same line, after the word "dollars," to insert "two chiefs of division, at \$2,000 each;" in line 14, before the word "clerks," to strike out "eleven" and insert "nine;" in line 16, before the word "clerks," to strike out "twenty-eight" and insert "fifty-four;" and in the same line, after the word "each," to strike out "fifteen clerks, at \$900 each; ten clerks, at \$840 each; one clerk, \$720," so as to read:

Office of the Quartermaster-General: For chief clerk, \$2,250; two chiefs of division, at \$2,000 each; nine clerks of class 4; twelve clerks of class 3; twenty-six clerks of class 2; sixty-one clerks of class 1; fifty-four clerks, at \$1,000 each; advisory architect, \$4,000, etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the appropriation for the office of the Quartermaster-General, on page 89, line 6, before the word "dollars," to strike out "one thousand eight hundred" and insert "two thousand," so as to read:

Electrical engineer, \$2,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 89, line 15, to increase the total appropriation for the office of the Quartermaster-General from \$271,740 to \$275,970.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 89, line 18, before the word "clerks," to strike out "three" and insert "four;" in line 19, before the word "clerks," to strike out "five" and insert "six;" in the same line, before the word "clerks," to strike out "five" and insert "six;" in line 20, before the word "clerks," to strike out "sixteen" and insert "fourteen;" in line 21, before the word "clerks," to strike out "nine" and insert "eight;" in line 24, before the word "hundred," to strike out "seventy-three thousand four" and insert "seventy-five thousand three," so as to make the clause read:

Office of the Commissary-General: For chief clerk, \$2,000; four clerks of class 4; six clerks of class 3; six clerks of class 2; twenty clerks of class 1; fourteen clerks, at \$1,000 each; eight clerks, at \$900 each; messenger; two assistant messengers; one laborer; in all, \$75,340.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 90, line 9, after the word "dollars," to strike out "one messenger" and insert "two messengers;" in line 10, before the word "assistant," to strike out "eleven" and insert "ten;" in line 13, after the word "dollars," to insert "assistant chemist, \$1,500;" in line 16, before the word "dollars," to strike out "and eighty-eight" and insert "two hundred and fifty;" in line 17, before the word "dollars," to strike out "one thousand eight hundred" and insert "two thousand;" in line 18, before the word "dollars," to strike out "one thousand eight hundred" and insert "two thousand," and in line 21, before the word "dollars," to strike out "sixty-four thousand five hundred and six" and insert "sixty-six thousand six hundred and eighty-eight," so as to make the clause read:

Office of the Surgeon-General: For chief clerk, \$2,000; law clerk, \$2,000; thirteen clerks of class 4; eleven clerks of class 3; twenty-six clerks of class 2; thirty-two clerks of class 1; ten clerks, at \$1,000 each; three clerks, at \$900 each; anatomist, \$1,600; engineer, \$1,400; assistant engineer, for night duty, \$900; two firemen; skilled mechanic, \$1,000; two messengers; ten assistant messengers; three watchmen; superintendent of building (Army Medical Museum and Library), \$250; six laborers; chemist, \$2,088; assistant chemist, \$1,500; principal assistant librarian, \$2,250; pathologist, \$2,000; microscopist, \$2,000; assistant librarian, \$1,800; four charwomen; in all, \$166,688.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 92, line 25, before the word "clerks," to strike out "eight" and insert "ten;" on page 93, line 1, before the word "clerks," to strike out "fifteen" and insert "nineteen;" in the same line, before the word "clerks," to strike out "thirteen" and insert "eighteen," and in line 3, before the word "two," to strike out "fourteen clerks, at \$900 each," so as to make the clause read:

Office of the Bureau of Insular Affairs: For law officer, \$4,500; chief clerk, \$2,000; eight clerks of class 4; three clerks of class 3; ten clerks of class 2; nineteen clerks of class 1; eighteen clerks, at \$1,000 each; two messengers; two assistant messengers; five laborers; two charwomen; in all, \$87,400.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Public buildings and grounds," at the top of page 95, to insert:

For second sergeant of park watchmen, \$900.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 96, line 24, after the word "park," to strike out "policemen" and insert "watchmen," so as to make the clause read:

For purchase and repair of bicycles and revolvers for park watchmen and for purchase of ammunition, \$300.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Navy Department," on page 98, line 23, before the word "dollars," to strike out "four thousand five hundred" and insert "five thousand;" on page 99, line 1, before the word "disbursing," to insert "clerk to Assistant Secretary, \$2,000," so as to read:

Office of the Secretary: For compensation of the Secretary of the Navy, \$12,000; Assistant Secretary of the Navy, \$5,000; chief clerk, \$3,000; private secretary to Secretary, \$2,500; clerk to Secretary, \$2,250; clerk to Assistant Secretary, \$2,000, etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 99, line 15, to increase the total appropriation for office of the Secretary of the Navy from \$67,760 to \$70,260.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 99, after line 16, to insert:

Office of the Solicitor: Solicitor, who shall perform the duties of the Judge-Advocate-General of the Navy in case of the death, resignation, absence, or sickness of that officer, \$4,000; law clerk, \$2,500; law clerk, \$2,000; clerk of class 4; clerk of class 3; clerk of class 2; clerk, at \$840; and messenger boy, at \$600; in all, \$14,740.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 100, line 10, after the word "class" to strike out "two" and insert "three," and in line 15, before the word "hundred," to strike out "one" and insert "three," so as to make the clause read:

Office of Naval Records of the Rebellion: For chief clerk, \$2,000; one agent, to be selected by the Secretary of the Navy from the officers of the late Confederate navy, \$1,800; three clerks of class 2 (including one transferred from Bureau of Yards and Docks); one clerk of class 3 (indexer); two clerks of class 1; two clerks at \$1,000 each; two copyists; copyist, \$720; one assistant messenger; necessary traveling expenses for collection of records, \$100; in all, \$17,340.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 100, line 25, after the word "For," to strike out "a solicitor, to be an assistant to the Judge-Advocate of the Navy, and to perform the duties of that officer in case of his death, resignation, absence, or sickness, \$4,000; chief clerk, \$2,000; one law clerk, \$2,500; one clerk of class 4 (reduction of one transferred to Bureau of Construction and Repair); one clerk of class 3; one clerk of class 2;" on page 101, line 10, after the word "dollars," to strike out "one clerk, \$840;" in line 11, after the word "messenger," to strike out "one messenger boy, \$600;" and in line 14, before the word "dollars," to strike out "twenty-three thousand and sixty" and insert "eight thousand three hundred and twenty," so as to make the clause read:

Judge-Advocate-General, United States Navy: For one clerk, \$1,300; two clerks of class 1 (including one transferred from Bureau of Supplies and Accounts); three clerks, at \$1,000 each; one clerk, \$900; one assistant messenger; in all, \$8,320.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 101, line 16, after the word "dollars," to insert "one clerk, \$2,000;" in line 17, before the word "clerks," to strike out "four" and insert "three;" and in line 25, before the word "hundred," to strike out "one" and insert "three," so as to make the clause read:

Bureau of Navigation: For chief clerk, \$2,000; one clerk, \$2,000; three clerks of class 4; six clerks of class 3; five clerks of class 2; six clerks of class 1; three clerks, at \$1,100 each; thirteen clerks, at \$1,000 each; five copyists; nineteen copyists, at \$840 each; two assistant messengers (reduction of one transferred to Secretary's office); one messenger boy, \$600, and five laborers (including one transferred from Secretary's office); in all, \$75,300.

Mr. CULLOM. In behalf of the committee, I desire to offer an amendment which was overlooked.

I move to amend the amendment of the committee by inserting in line 16, after the word "dollars," the words "one clerk, \$2,000," and striking out, in line 16, the word "three" before "clerks" and inserting "five," so as to read "five clerks of class four."

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 102, line 9, after the word "dollars," to insert "bookkeeper and accountant, \$1,800," and in line 21, before the word "hundred," to strike out "twenty-eight thousand seven" and insert "thirty thousand five," so as to make the clause read:

Bureau of Equipment: For chief clerk, \$2,000; draftsman, who shall be an expert in marine construction, \$2,000; bookkeeper and account-

ant, \$1,800; one clerk of class 4; electrical expert and draftsman, \$1,600; one clerk of class 3; one clerk of class 2; one clerk, \$1,300; two clerks of class 1, draftsman for work in connection with depots for coal, \$1,200; eight clerks, at \$1,000 each; two copyists; one assistant messenger; one messenger boy, \$600; one blueprinter, \$600; one messenger boy, \$360; and two laborers (including one transferred from Secretary's office); in all, \$30,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the appropriation for the Hydrographic Office, on page 103, line 21, to increase the number of engravers at \$1,200 each from five to six, and in line 22, to reduce the number of engravers at \$1,000 each from three to two.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 104, line 16, to increase the total appropriation for the Hydrographic Office from \$102,000 to \$102,200.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 105, after line 20, to insert:

"For a monthly Pilot Chart of the North Pacific Ocean, showing graphically the matters of value and interest to the maritime community of the Pacific coast, and particularly the directions and forces of the winds to be expected during the month succeeding the date of issue; the set and strength of the currents; the feeding grounds of whales and seals; the regions of storm, fog, and ice; the positions of derelicts and floating obstructions to navigation; and the best routes to be followed by steam and by sail; including the expenses of communicating and circulating information; lithographing and engraving; the purchase of materials for and printing and mailing the chart, \$2,000."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the appropriation for the Naval Observatory, on page 106, line 16, before the word "dollars," to strike out "one thousand eight hundred" and insert "two thousand;" in line 18, before the word "hundred" to strike out "six" and insert "eight;" and in line 21, after the word "dollars" to strike out "five assistants, at \$1,200 each" and insert "three assistants, at \$1,600 each; two assistants, at \$1,400 each," so as to read:

Naval Observatory: For pay of three assistant astronomers, one at \$2,400, and two at \$2,000 each; one assistant in department of nautical instruments, \$1,800; one clerk of class 4; one clerk of class 2; instrument maker, \$1,500; electrician, \$1,500; assistant, \$1,400; three assistants, at \$1,600 each; two assistants, at \$1,400 each; librarian, \$1,400, etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 107, line 6, to increase the appropriation for the Naval Observatory from \$41,640 to \$43,840.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the appropriation for the Naval Observatory, on page 107, line 8, to increase the appropriation for miscellaneous computations, from \$5,000 to \$6,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 107, line 19, to increase the appropriation for repairs to buildings, fixtures, and fences, furniture, gas, chemicals, and stationery, etc., Naval Observatory, from \$2,500 to \$3,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 108, line 2, to increase the appropriation for fuel, oil, grease, tools, pipe, wire, and other material needed for the maintenance and repair of boilers, etc., Naval Observatory, from \$7,500 to \$8,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the appropriation for the Nautical Almanac Office, on page 108, line 6, after the word "namely," to insert "one at \$1,800;" in line 7, before the word "at," to strike out "Three" and insert "two," and in line 13, before the word "hundred," to strike out "two" and insert "four," so as to make the clause read:

Nautical Almanac Office: For the following assistants in preparing for publication the American Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac, namely: One, at \$1,800; two, at \$1,600 each; two, at \$1,400 each; three, at \$1,200 each; two, at \$1,000 each; one copyist and typewriter, \$900; one assistant messenger and one messenger boy, \$420; in all, \$15,440.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the appropriation for the Bureau of Steam Engineering, page 108, line 20, before the word "of," to strike out "one clerk" and insert "two clerks;" in line 22, before the word "of," to strike out "one clerk" and insert "three clerks," and on page 109, line 6, before the word "thousand," to strike out "twenty-three" and insert "twenty-seven," so as to make the clause read:

Bureau of Steam Engineering: For chief clerk, \$2,000; one clerk of class 4; two clerks of class 3; two clerks of class 2; one clerk, \$1,300; three clerks of class 1; one clerk, \$1,100; three clerks, at \$1,000 each; one clerk, \$840; one assistant messenger; two laborers; two laborers, at \$600 each; one messenger boy, \$600; draftsman, \$1,400; assistant draftsman, \$1,200; stenographer and typewriter, \$1,000; stenographer and typewriter, \$900; in all, \$27,980.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the appropriation for the Bureau



of Ordnance, page 110, line 9, before the word "of," to strike out "one clerk" and insert "two clerks;" and in line 17, before the word "and," to strike out "thirty-one thousand three hundred" and insert "thirty-two thousand nine hundred," so as to make the clause read:

Bureau of Ordnance: For chief clerk, \$2,000; ordnance engineer, mechanical draftsman, and computer, \$3,000; draftsman, \$1,800; assistant draftsman, \$1,400; two clerks of class 3; two clerks of class 2; one clerk, \$1,300; three clerks of class 1; one clerk, \$1,100; five clerks, at \$1,000 each; three copyists; two copyists, at \$840 each; one assistant messenger; two messenger boys, at \$600 each; two messenger boys, at \$400 each; and one laborer; in all, \$32,960.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the appropriation for the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, page 110, line 21, before the word "clerks," to strike out "six" and insert "eight;" in the same line, before the word "clerks," to strike out "six" and insert "five;" and on page 111, line 6, before the word "hundred," to strike out "one hundred thousand six" and insert "one hundred and two thousand four," so as to make the clause read:

Bureau of Supplies and Accounts: For civilian assistant, \$2,500; two chief bookkeepers, at \$2,000 each; four clerks of class 4; eight clerks of class 3; five clerks of class 2; fifteen clerks of class 1; eight clerks, at \$1,100 each; twenty-four clerks, at \$1,000 each; three clerks, at \$900 each; eight copyists; two copyists, at \$840 each; four assistant messengers (including one instead of one laborer transferred from Secretary's office); three messenger boys, at \$400 each; one laborer; one messenger boy, at \$600; and two laborers, at \$600 each; in all, \$102,420.

The agreement was agreed to.

The next agreement was, in the appropriation for the Bureau of Yards and Docks, page 111, line 20, before the word "dollars," to strike out "chief clerk, two thousand" and insert "chief clerk and civilian assistant, two thousand two hundred and fifty;" and on page 112, line 4, before the word "dollars," to strike out "eighteen thousand nine hundred and forty" and insert "nineteen thousand one hundred and ninety," so as to make the clause read.

Bureau of Yards and Docks: For chief clerk and civilian assistant, \$2,250; draftsman and clerk, \$1,800; one clerk of class 3; one clerk of class 2; one clerk of class 1; one clerk, \$1,100; six clerks, at \$1,000 each (including one transferred from Secretary's office); one assistant messenger; three messenger boys, at \$600 each; and two laborers (including one transferred from Naval Intelligence); in all, \$19,190.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 112, line 19, after the word "materials," to insert "Revised Statutes," so as to make the clause read:

For stationery, furniture, newspapers, plans, drawings, drawing materials, Revised Statutes, horses and wagons to be used only for official purposes, freight, expressage, postage, and other absolutely necessary expenses of the Navy Department and its various bureaus and offices, \$40,000; it shall not be lawful to expend, for any of the offices or bureaus of the Navy Department at Washington, any sum out of appropriations made for the naval establishment for any of the purposes mentioned or authorized in this paragraph.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Department of the Interior," on page 113, line 8, before the word "dollars," to strike out "four thousand five hundred" and insert "five thousand;" in line 9, after the word "dollars," to insert "Assistant to the Secretary, \$2,750; assistant attorney, \$2,750; assistant attorney, \$2,500; four assistant attorneys, at \$2,250 each," so as to read:

Office of the Secretary: For compensation of the Secretary of the Interior, \$12,000; First Assistant Secretary, \$5,000; Assistant Secretary, \$4,500; Assistant to the Secretary, \$2,750; assistant attorney, \$2,750; assistant attorney, \$2,500; four assistant attorneys, at \$2,250 each, etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the appropriation for the office of the Secretary of the Interior, on page 113, line 23, after the word "each," to strike out "and six Indian inspectors at \$2,500 each, heretofore provided for in the Indian appropriation act," so as to read:

Two special inspectors, whose employment shall be limited to the inspection of offices and the work in the several offices under the control of the Department of the Interior, at \$2,500 each (in lieu of one special land inspector and five special inspectors at \$2,500 each, etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 114, line 4, after the word "dollars," to insert "clerk in charge of publications, \$2,250;" in line 10, before the word "clerks," to strike out "sixteen" and insert "seventeen;" and in line 11, before the word "clerks," to strike out "twenty-one" and insert "twenty," so as to read:

Clerk in charge of mails, files, and archives, \$2,250; clerk in charge of publications, \$2,250; four clerks, at \$2,000 each; private secretary to the Secretary of the Interior, \$2,500; thirteen clerks of class 4 (two clerks of class 4 transferred to Indian Office and one transferred to General Land Office); seventeen clerks of class 3; twenty clerks of class 2 (three clerks of class 2 transferred to Indian Office and two transferred to General Land Office), etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 114, line 21, after the word "operator," to insert "chief messenger, \$1,000;" and in line 22, before the word "messengers," to strike out "nine" and insert "eight," so as to read:

Switchboard telephone operator; chief messenger, \$1,000; eight messengers.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 115, line 5, to increase the appropriation for the salary of captain of the watch, office of the Secretary of the Interior, from \$1,200 to \$1,400.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 115, line 15, to increase the total appropriation for the office of the Secretary of the Interior from \$263,590 to \$283,900.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 115, line 16, after the word "dollars," to insert the following proviso:

*Provided*, That in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior, persons employed June 30, 1908, as additional members of the Board of Pension Appeals may be transferred and appointed to places in the classified service of the Department of the Interior without reference to the "Act to regulate and improve the civil service of the United States," approved January 16, 1883.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 116, line 4, before the word "hundred," to strike out "six" and insert "eight;" and in line 11, before the word "hundred," to strike out "three" and insert "five," so as to make the clause read:

For employees, for the proper protection, heating, care, and preservation of the old Post-Office Department building, occupied by the Department of the Interior, namely: One engineer and electrician, \$1,800; assistant engineer, \$1,000; four firemen; three watchmen, acting as lieutenants, at \$840 each; twenty watchmen; conductor of elevator, \$720; fourteen laborers; nine laborers, at \$480 each; three skilled mechanics (painter, carpenter, and plumber), at \$900 each; in all, \$39,580.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 116, line 23, before the word "special," to strike out "eight" and insert "two," and on page 117, line 7, before the word "thousand," to strike out "sixteen" and insert "four," so as to make the clause read:

For per diem in lieu of subsistence of two special inspectors, Department of the Interior, while traveling on duty, at a rate to be fixed by the Secretary of the Interior, not exceeding \$3 per day, and for actual necessary expenses of transportation (including temporary employment of stenographers, typewriters, and other assistance outside of the District of Columbia, and for incidental expenditures necessary to the efficient conduct of examinations), to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, \$4,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the appropriation for the Commissioner of the General Land Office, on page 117, line 20, after the word "dollars," to strike out "two chiefs of division at \$2,400" and insert "one chief of division, \$2,750; one chief of division, \$2,400," so as to read:

Recorder, \$2,000; one chief of division, \$2,750; one chief of division, \$2,400.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 118, line 16, after the word "dollars," to strike out "librarian of the law library of the General Land Office" and insert "clerk and librarian," so as to read:

One depositary acting for the Commissioner as receiver of public moneys, \$2,000; clerk and librarian, \$1,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 118, line 19, to increase the total appropriation for the office of the Commissioner of the General Land Office from \$572,100 to \$572,450.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 120, line 13, to increase the appropriation for separate State and Territorial maps, prepared in the General Land Office, from \$1,250 to \$2,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, at the top of page 121, to insert:

For continuing the work authorized by the act approved March 3, 1891, and for the protection of the lives of miners in the Territories and in the district of Alaska, and for conducting such investigations in the Territories and in the district of Alaska as will increase safety and efficiency in mining, to be immediately available, \$195,000: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to accept for use in the investigations named above any site, buildings, equipment, or fund which in his judgment it may be proper to accept; such acceptance shall be reported to Congress, and shall not be considered as binding the Government of the United States beyond the appropriation made by Congress in any one year.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the appropriation for the office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, on page 121, line 24, to increase the appropriation for the salary of the principal bookkeeper from \$1,800 to \$2,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 122, line 17, to increase the total appropriation for the Indian Office from \$221,270 to \$221,470.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the appropriation for the office of the Commissioner of Pensions, on page 123, line 15, to increase the number of clerks of class 1 from 330 to 370.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 124, line 4, to increase the total appropriation for the office of the Commissioner of Pensions from \$1,602,270 to \$1,650,270.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the appropriation for the Patent Office, on page 125, line 8, before the word "dollars," to insert "five hundred;" in line 9, before the word "dollars," to strike out "two thousand five hundred" and insert "three thousand;" in line 11, before the word "three," to strike out "two law clerks, at \$2,500 each" and insert "two law examiners, at \$2,750 each;" in line 13, before the word "hundred," to strike out "five" and insert "seven;" in line 15, before the word "hundred," to strike out "five" and insert "seven;" in line 16, before the word "hundred," to strike out "five" and insert "seven;" in line 17, before the word "dollars," to insert "four hundred;" in line 19, before the word "hundred," to strike out "one thousand eight" and insert "two thousand one;" in line 21, before the word "hundred," to strike out "six" and insert "eight," and in line 22, before the word "hundred," to strike out "four" and insert "five," so as to read:

Patent Office: For the Commissioner of Patents, \$5,000; Assistant Commissioner, who shall perform such duties pertaining to the office of Commissioner as may be assigned to him by the Commissioner, \$3,500; chief clerk, \$3,000; 2 law examiners, at \$2,750 each; 3 examiners-in-chief, at \$3,000 each; examiner of interferences, \$2,700; examiner of trade-marks and designs, \$2,700; 42 principal examiners, at \$2,700 each; 58 first assistant examiners, at \$2,400 each; 68 second assistant examiners, at \$2,100 each; 78 third assistant examiners, at \$1,800 each; 100 fourth assistant examiners, at \$1,500 each, etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the appropriation for the Patent Office, on page 126, line 3, before the word "clerks," to strike out "ninety" and insert "one hundred;" in line 7, before the word "clerks," to strike out "eighty-five" and insert "one hundred;" in line 9, before the word "copyists," to strike out "one hundred and six" and insert "ninety;" and in the same line, before the word "copyists," to strike out "one hundred" and insert "sixty," so as to read:

Fifteen clerks of class 2; 100 clerks of class 1; skilled laborer, \$1,200; 3 skilled draftsmen, at \$1,200 each; 4 draftsmen, at \$1,000 each; 100 clerks, at \$1,000 each; messenger and property clerk, \$1,000; 90 copyists; 60 copyists, at \$720 each.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 126, line 20, to increase the total appropriation for the Patent Office from \$1,131,310 to \$1,194,610.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 127, line 15, to increase the appropriation for the salary of the Commissioner of Education from \$3,500 to \$4,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 128, line 5, to increase the total appropriation for the Bureau of Education from \$55,500 to \$56,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 128, line 9, to increase the appropriation for books for library, current educational periodicals, other current publications, etc., Bureau of Education, from \$250 to \$500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 128, line 11, to increase the appropriation for collecting statistics for special reports and circulars of information, Bureau of Education, from \$4,000 to \$8,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 128, line 24, before the word "dollars," to insert "two hundred;" in line 25, before the word "hundred," to strike out "four" and insert "five;" on page 129, line 6, before the word "dollars," to strike out "eight hundred and sixty-four" and insert "one thousand;" and in line 14, before the word "dollars," to strike out "twenty-four thousand seven hundred and twenty-four" and insert "twenty-five thousand one hundred and sixty," so as to make the clause read:

Office of the Superintendent of the Capitol Building and Grounds: For Superintendent of the Capitol Building and Grounds, \$5,000; chief clerk, \$2,000; chief electrical engineer, \$2,400; draftsman, \$1,200; assistant draftsman, \$800; one clerk, \$1,500; stenographer and typewriter, \$1,200; foreman, \$1,500; compensation to disbursing clerk, \$1,000; one messenger; person in charge of the heating of the Supreme

Court and central portion of the Capitol, \$1,000; laborer in charge of water-closets in central portion of the Capitol, \$660; seven laborers for cleaning Rotunda, corridors, Dome, and old library portion of Capitol, at \$660 each; two laborers in charge of public closets of the House of Representatives and in the terrace, at \$720 each; in all, \$25,160.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 130, after line 24, to insert: For rent of rooms in the Union Building for Patent Office model exhibit, \$19,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 131, after line 4, to insert: For rent of additional office accommodations for the Geological Survey in the main building of the Survey, Washington, D. C. (formerly occupied by the Reclamation Service), \$3,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 131, after line 8, to insert: For rent of additional rooms to building used by the Engraving and Printing Division, which will provide two large well-lighted rooms with a total floor space 5,200 square feet; these accommodations being demanded by the increased work of the plant, \$2,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Secretary continued the reading of the bill to page 132, line 2.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will suspend. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated by the Secretary.

The SECRETARY. A bill (S. 3023) to amend the national banking laws.

Mr. ALDRICH. The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] is now in the Chamber, and he has given notice of his intention to speak to-day. I do not know whether he desires to speak now or whether he will wait until the appropriation bill is completed.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I shall be glad to begin whenever the Senate is ready to yield me the time.

Mr. CULLOM. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Certainly.

Mr. CULLOM. This morning, when the routine morning business was completed, I inquired if the Senator from Wisconsin was present, as he had given notice that he desired to speak to-day. He was not here, and hence I called up the appropriation bill. It will be but a little while, I think, before the reading of the bill for action on the committee amendments will be completed. I will then be willing to allow the Senator to take the floor, if that course is agreeable to him.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I would like to begin as soon as possible.

Mr. CULLOM. I have no objection. If the Senator desires to begin now, I will let the bill go over until after he gets through with his speech.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. The Senator is very kind, and I shall be glad to begin at once, if the Senator will permit the bill under consideration to go over.

Mr. CULLOM. All right.

#### AMENDMENT OF NATIONAL BANKING LAWS.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 3023) to amend the national banking laws.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, what I have to say upon the pending bill is made more pertinent, if possible, by the unexpected announcement just now made by the chairman of the Finance Committee of the intention to amend it by striking out the provision for the use of railroad bonds as security for emergency currency.

The Aldrich bill in my view—and I use that term because the measure pending before the Senate bears the country over the name of its author—can not be fairly judged without considering the changes which have been wrought in the industrial and commercial life of this country within a decade, and the consequent changes that have taken place in banking within a few years.

It is to be expected that the remarkable industrial development of a country will induce corresponding growth in banking. To meet the increasing demand of expanding business new banks must be established, and established banks must make large additions to capital, surplus, and undivided profits. Such changes may be extraordinary, but they should be natural, measuring year by year the growing commercial development of the nation.

But something besides a normal growth of business and resulting demands upon our currency system requires attention in connection with this proposed legislation.



## CONSOLIDATION OF BANKING AND "BIG BUSINESS."

Eighteen hundred and ninety-eight was the beginning of great industrial reorganization. Men directly engaged in production brought about in the first instance an association of the independent concerns which they had built up. These reorganizations were at the outset limited to those turning out finished products similar in kind. Within a period of three years following, 149 such reorganizations were effected with a total stock and bond capitalization of \$3,784,000,000. In making these reorganizations the opportunity for a large paper capitalization offered too great a temptation to be resisted. This was but the first stage in the creation of fictitious wealth. The success of these organizations led quickly on to a consolidation of combined industries, until a mere handful of men controlled the industrial production of the country.

The opportunity to associate the reorganization of the industrial institutions of the country with banking capital presented itself. Such connections were a powerful aid to reorganization, and reorganization offered an unlimited field for speculation. It was a tremendous temptation.

It contributes nothing of value to this discussion to denounce individuals on the one hand or laud them on the other. I have compiled a list of about one hundred men with their directorships in the great corporate business enterprises of the United States. It furnishes indisputable proof of the community of interest that controls the industrial life of the country.

I shall ask, Mr. President, to have incorporated in the Record this list of about 100 men with their directorships. It discloses their connections with the transportation, the industrial, and the commercial life of the American people. This exhibit will make it clear to anyone that a small group of men hold in their hands the business of this country.

No student of the economic changes in recent years can escape the conclusion that the railroads, telegraph, shipping, cable, telephone, traction, express, mining, iron, steel, coal, oil, gas, electric light, cotton, copper, sugar, tobacco, agricultural implements, and the food products are completely controlled and mainly owned by these hundred men; that they have through reorganization multiplied their wealth almost beyond their own ability to know its amount with accuracy. It is not necessary to examine in detail the related events that have led to this marvelous concentration of business. The facts are well understood and generally recognized.

But the country seems not to understand how completely great banking institutions in the principal money centers have become bound up with the control of industrial institutions, nor the logical connection of this relationship to the financial depression which we have so recently suffered, nor the dangers which threaten us from this source in the future.

That there was a tendency on the part of the great banking associations to merge and combine could not be overlooked; and while financial and economic writers had directed public attention to the fact, and had even pointed out the opportunity and temptation for the use of this augmented power in connection with the promotion of the speculative side of business organization, they have been slow to believe that banking institutions could be so prostituted.

Nevertheless, most conservative authorities suggested and foreshadowed the dangers that unfortunately actually exist.

## FINANCIAL BANKING RESPONSIBLE FOR MONEY STRINGENCY.

An English economist, writing in *Littell's Living Age* for December 26, 1906, concludes an analysis of the currency-reform programme proposed, respectively, by the committee of the New York Chamber of Commerce and the committee of the American Banking Association then under discussion, as follows:

Unfortunately, however, defective as the present currency system is, all the evils complained of are not due to its defects. In part they have resulted from the way in which the system has been worked. Thus the recent extreme stringency of money in New York would probably never have arisen if the banks, instead of preparing for the autumn demands, had not locked up their funds to far too great an extent in the financing of Wall street. That the banks are to a large extent under the domination of the big financiers is well known, and the recent insurance investigations have shown how, under such domination, private interests may be made to prevail over those of the public.

In an address delivered before the Minnesota Bankers' Association at Lake Minnetonka, Thomas F. Woodlock, formerly editor of the *Wall Street Journal*, author of the *Anatomy of Railway Reports*, and now a member of the New York Exchange, gave this warning:

The one thing that stands out most prominent, in my judgment, with reference to Wall street banking is the danger of the concentration of banking powers in the hands of a few great speculative interests. We have clearly defined tendencies in Wall street, the ultimate effect of which is likely to be the creation of two or three powerful groups of banks. There is, for example, the so-called "Standard Oil" group of banks, headed by the National City; there is the so-called "Morgan Life Insurance" group, with the National Bank of Commerce and the First National Bank at its head. These two groups

contain many of the most powerful banks in New York City, and together account for a very large proportion of the total volume of credit at the disposal of the public. \* \* \* The connection between the management of the banks in New York City and the great financial and speculative interests is very close, and if we ever have serious banking trouble it will come from this fact.

In an article on the "Concentration of banking interests in the United States," written in 1905, Charles J. Bullock, professor of economics, Williams College, says:

Unlike the central banks of other countries, our largest institutions are closely connected with various industrial interests, so that they do not occupy an independent position. Their policy is not controlled with sole regard for the general welfare of our banking system; but they have been drawn into vast enterprises, into promotion or reorganization, often of a speculative character, and have displayed less, not more, than ordinary conservatism. The National City Bank stood sponsor for the Amalgamated Copper Company, and the First National Bank has lent its aid to the various undertakings with which Mr. Morgan has been identified.

Mr. President, I shall later call the attention of the Senate to these two great groups of banks referred to by Mr. Bullock, which are every day increasing their control of the banking business of this country, Standard Oil at the head of one and Morgan at the head of the other. I should like the Senate to remember that this writer, speaking simply as a student of economics and finance, singles out the heads of these two groups to illustrate the dangers of the association of banks with industrial promotion and speculative enterprises.

Continuing, Professor Bullock says:

It is to be feared that our financiers have not yet learned the difference between banking and the promotion of companies—

In reading this, I need not suggest to Senators that Professor Bullock, being at the head of the economics department of an old renowned Massachusetts college, would certainly be very conservative in all that he might write—

It is to be feared that our financiers have not yet learned the difference between banking and the promotion of companies; but until this distinction is better understood, New York City will not rival London as an international financial center. \* \* \*

The concentration of banking power has now proceeded so far that discussion has inevitably arisen concerning the length to which it will be carried, and the possible dangers of the movement. In the counting room and upon the streets New Yorkers are still pondering upon these questions, and not infrequently printed remarks are made about the "money trust." If this expression were heard only in the region of the one hundredth meridian, its interpretation would be obvious, but within the sacred precincts of Wall street such words can not fail to produce a certain impression.

Mark you, Mr. President, I am quoting from recognized authority, not upon present conditions, but upon the situation as it presented itself to students of government finance three or four or five years ago.

## WALL STREET JOURNAL ON FINANCIAL BANKING.

As early as in 1903 the *Wall Street Journal*, in an editorial entitled "Evolution of a strong financial oligarchy," thus strongly set forth the dangerous tendencies in banking:

In the New York money market there are now seven great groups or chains of banks, trust companies, and insurance companies. These groups in some cases represent common ownership, and in others such an alliance of interests that the very institutions are controlled practically under a common policy. The tendency is for the large banks to control by ownership several smaller banks, and to be in close alliance with one or more trust companies.

After giving a classification of the different groups with the amount of loans outstanding, this editorial shows that there is a close bond of business interests among the groups, so that they are often operated together. It says:

The two insurance companies are, for instance, united in the Western National Bank. Messrs. J. P. Morgan & Co. have affiliations with three of the groups, mainly that of the First National Bank, that of the Bank of Commerce, and, in a measure, that of the National City Bank. The Standard Oil Company is, of course, closely affiliated with the National City and the Hanover National groups. The seventh group, the largest in number of institutions though not in amount of loans, is the so-called "Morse group."

Let me say, Mr. President, that this described the beginning of bank consolidation. This editorial, written in 1903, speaks of seven organizations. There are far less to-day.

To return—and please note that I am still reading from the *Wall Street Journal*—

In many respects the evolution outlined in the foregoing features is more remarkable and perhaps more important than the great evolution in industrial finance of the past few years. It may be that the high organization of credit will tend to prevent panics in the time to come.

The *Wall Street Journal* was giving them the benefit of the doubt—

It may be that it will have quite the contrary result. In any event, it is clear that its effect for good or ill upon the destinies of those who are accustomed to use credit in their business will be very far-reaching.

Under the title "Perils of the money trust," the *Wall Street Journal* again pointed out these dangers in the following language:

What is taking place is a concentration of banking that is not merely a normal growth, but a concentration that comes from combination, consolidation, and other methods employed to secure monopolistic power. Not only this, but this concentration has not been along the

lines of commercial banking. The great banks of concentration are in close alliance with financial interests intimately connected with promotion of immense enterprises, many of them being largely speculative. The bank credits of the country are being rapidly concentrated in the hands of a few bankers who are more interested in banking on its financial (watered stock) side than in banking on its commercial side.

Such concentration as this is dangerous in a political sense. The people have already been greatly disturbed by the concentration that has taken place in the industrial world. \* \* \* But concentration in the industrial world is a far less menacing condition than concentration in banking. The men or set of men who control the credits of the country control the country.

And if this concentration continues at the rapid rate with which it has progressed in the past ten years there will surely come a time when the people, alarmed at the growth, will rise up in some vigorous measures to assert their power. Such an uprising would involve the most serious consequences and would likely be carried to the most unreasonable limits. There can be no doubt that further concentration of banking power in New York is the end in view of some of our leading bankers. They believe that there will be a further reduction in the number of banks and a further increase in the power of the big banks. That is one reason why this banking concentration needs to be studied and its consequences carefully weighed.

But there is still another reason why this development in modern banking is open to criticism. It is largely a departure from commercial banking. It is turning the power over bank credits into financial (stock promotion) channels. So long as the country is prosperous no immediate danger may be apprehended from such a development as that. \* \* \* But it is always the unexpected that happens, and our panics are commonly ushered in by some unforeseen calamity and it is a fair inquiry to make whether banking conducted on a "department-store" principle, with credits concentrated in a few great institutions, and with these institutions having large interests in financial and speculative enterprises, would be in a position in such a moment of unexpected calamity to do more than to protect the financial and speculative interests with which it is allied. In such a contingency, what protection would be left for the great commercial interests of the country?

Does that not sound like a prophecy for the times through which this country and its commercial interests have just passed?

#### GROWTH OF FINANCIAL BANKING.

The closeness of business association between Wall street and the centralized banking power of New York can, unfortunately, be but imperfectly traced through the official reports. It would seem that the radical changes taking place in the banking business of the country, suggesting to the conservative, economic, and financial authorities the gravest possible dangers to our industrial and commercial integrity, might well have caused the Treasury Department to recognize the necessity of so directing its investigations of the national banks in the greater cities which are centers of speculation and to so classify their returns as to inform itself and the country definitely respecting such changes. This has not been done. Financial and economic writers have long complained of the form of classification of credits in Government reports. Eminent students of finance have given warning of the dangers arising from too close association of combined banking interests with Wall street. The report of the Armstrong committee established the connection, and yet the classifications in the official report of condition of these banks remains mixed as to securities, so that investigation is made vastly more laborious and unsatisfactory, if not altogether baffled.

It is, however, possible to find evidence which establishes the diversion of a large volume of the bank resources to securities which are the subject of speculative operation in the stock exchange.

The ratio of the aggregate investment in "bonds, stocks, and other securities" (not including United States bonds) to the total individual deposits of the national banks increased from 7.2 per cent in 1890 to 16.2 per cent in 1907. The ratio of "stocks, bonds, securities, etc." to capital, surplus, and undivided profits held by the national banks of the United States increased from 12 per cent in 1890 to 42.9 per cent in 1907.

Official figures do not show the real condition. The reports from banks upon which statistics are based fail to make clear the actual investment in speculative securities, not only through classification, but they fail for another reason. Banks secure information in advance that reports will be called for at a given time. Indeed, such notice comes to them through news dispatches from Washington direct. This gives an opportunity to sweep out and patch up and put the house in order, and the opportunity is not neglected. There is another reason why the actual holdings of banks in such securities are not shown in more recent reports. These banks have either established connections with trust companies or have organized inside trust companies as a protection and convenience. The bank and trust company, though differently officered, will be found closely welded together in their directorates. These companies afford a convenient cover for the banks in many ways. Their securities can be borrowed and shuffled back and forth to make a good showing. The trust companies can handle securities which the banks can not touch. They can underwrite bonds

and float loans for which the banks could not openly stand sponsor. They can deal with themselves in innumerable ways to their own benefit and the detriment of the public.

As the interests represented by the great banks use their customers, so they use to a less degree the various State, private, and savings banks which they control. The growth of financial banking appears even more marked when all classes of financial institutions are taken together. The ratio of stock and bond investments of national, State, private, and savings banks and trust companies to their total individual deposits, as shown by the reports of the Comptroller of the Currency, has increased from 8.9 per cent in 1890 to 28.2 per cent in 1907. The total holdings by advance and trust companies in these stocks and bonds, exclusive of United States bonds, amounted in 1907 to over \$3,690,000,000. By reliable estimate, based on extensive investigation by an independent New York banking house, to which I shall have occasion to refer a little later, the holdings of the banks and trust companies were three years ago almost a billion dollars in railroad bonds alone.

The effect of the proposed legislation becomes more apparent as we investigate the grouping together of the great financial institutions holding these railroad bonds and other special securities and then trace their connection with the companies issuing these bonds.

Mr. President, the bare names of the directors of two great bank groups—the Standard Oil group and the Morgan group—given in connection with their other business associations is all the evidence that need be offered of the absolute community of interest between banks, railroads, and all the great industries.

There are twenty-three directors of the National City Bank (Standard Oil). There are thirty-nine directors of the National Bank of Commerce (Morgan). Examination of these directorates shows that the two groups are being knit together in business associations, suggesting their ultimate unification.

Subject to personal differences which may arise between powerful individuals of these different groups, resulting in occasional collision, they are practically a monopoly, and as far as the public is concerned, practically one group. The business partner of the head of the Morgan group is found on the directorate of the chief financial institution which heads the Standard Oil group. And one of the leading directors of the National City Bank (Standard Oil) is a member of the board of directors of the principal financial institution in the Morgan group.

The directors of the leading organizations comprising the two principal groups are bound together in mutual interest as shareholders in the various industrial concerns which have been financed by one or the other of these groups in recent years.

Remember that these sixty-two men who are directors of the two banks standing at the head of the two great groups are not additional to the list of less than 100 men to whom I have referred as controlling the industrial life of the nation, but a most important part of it.

#### LIST OF MEN WHO CONTROL INDUSTRIAL, FRANCHISE, TRANSPORTATION, AND FINANCIAL BUSINESS OF THE UNITED STATES, WITH THEIR DIRECTORSHIPS AND OFFICES IN VARIOUS CORPORATIONS.

The list includes directors of the two great banks at the head of the Standard Oil and Morgan groups and fifty other names.

*Directors of the National City Bank of New York City (Standard Oil control).*

##### EDWIN S. MARTSON:

President and director of the Farmers' Loan and Trust Company;  
Citizens' Mutual Gas Company, director;  
Detroit, Hillsdale and Southwestern Railroad Company, president and director;  
Fort Wayne and Jackson Railroad Company, president and director;  
New Amsterdam Gas Company, director;  
New York Mutual Gaslight Company, director;  
Queens Insurance Company of America, director; and  
Standard Gaslight Company of the City of New York, director.

##### JAMES STILLMAN:

The Alliance Realty Company, director;  
Amalgamated Copper Company, director;  
American Safe Deposit Company, trustee;  
The Audit Company of New York, director;  
Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, director;  
Bank of the Metropolis, director;  
The Bowery Savings Bank, trustee;  
Century Realty Company, director;  
The Chicago and Alton Railway Company, director;  
Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company, director;  
The Citizens' Central National Bank, director;  
Columbia Bank, director;  
Consolidated Gas Company of New York, trustee;  
Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, member board of managers;  
East River Gas Company, director;  
The Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, director;  
Fidelity Bank, vice-president and director;  
Fidelity Trust Company (Kansas City, Mo.), director;  
The Fifth Avenue Safe Deposit Company, president and trustee;  
The Hanover National Bank, director;



Industrial Trust Company, Providence, director;  
 Lawyers' Title Insurance and Trust Company, director;  
 The Lincoln National Bank of the City of New York, director;  
 The Lincoln Safe Deposit Company, trustee;  
 Louisiana Western Railroad Company, director;  
 Michigan Central Railroad Company, director;  
 Mohawk and Malone Railroad Company, director;  
 Morris and Essex Railroad Company, director;  
 The National Butchers and Drovers' Bank, director;  
 New York and Harlem Railroad Company, director;  
 New York and Ottawa Railway, director;  
 New York and Putnam Railway, director;  
 New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, director;  
 New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad Company, director;  
 New York Clearing House Association, member of clearing-house committee;  
 The New York Mutual Gaslight Company, director;  
 The New York State Realty and Terminal Company, director;  
 The New York Trust Company, trustee;  
 Newport Trust Company, director;  
 North British and Mercantile Insurance Company of London and Edinburgh, director in United States;  
 North British and Mercantile Insurance Company of New York, director;  
 Queen Insurance Company of America, director;  
 Riggs National Bank, Washington, director;  
 Rutland Railroad Company, director;  
 St. Lawrence and Adirondack Railway, director;  
 The Second National Bank, president and director;  
 Southern Pacific Railroad Company, director;  
 Syracuse, Geneva and Corning Railroad, director;  
 Terminal Railway of Buffalo, director;  
 Terminal Warehouse Company, treasurer and director;  
 Union Pacific Railroad Company, director;  
 United States Realty and Improvement Company, director;  
 United States Trust Company, trustee;  
 West Shore Railroad, director; and  
 The Western Union Telegraph Company, director.

## SAMUEL SLOAN:

Chairman of board of managers of Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company;  
 Bank of the Metropolis, director;  
 Cayuga and Susquehanna Railroad, director;  
 Chester Railroad, director;  
 Consolidated Gas Company of New York, vice-president and trustee;  
 East River Gas Company, of Long Island City, director;  
 The Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, director;  
 Greene Railroad, director;  
 Hanover and Newport Railroad Company, director;  
 Hopatcong Railroad, director;  
 Lackawanna and Montrose Railroad, director;  
 Manhattan Company, director;  
 Manhattan Railway Company, director;  
 Mechanics' Bank, Brooklyn, director;  
 Missouri Pacific Railway Company, director;  
 Morris and Essex Extension Railroad, director;  
 Morris and Essex Railroad, director;  
 Newark and Bloomfield Railroad, director;  
 New York, Lackawanna and Western Railway, director;  
 The New York Mutual Gas Light Company, director;  
 Oswego and Syracuse Railroad, president and director;  
 Passaic and Delaware Extension Railroad, director;  
 Passaic and Delaware Railroad, director;  
 Queen Insurance Company of America, director;  
 Sussex Railroad, director;  
 Syracuse, Binghamton and New York Railroad Company, director;  
 Texas and Pacific Railway Company, director;  
 United States Trust Company, trustee;  
 Utica, Chenango and Susquehanna Valley Railroad, director;  
 Valley Railroad, director;  
 Warren Railroad Company, director; and  
 The Western Union Telegraph Company, director.

## EDWARD H. HARRIMAN:

Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, director;  
 The Brooklyn Heights Railroad Company, director;  
 Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company, director;  
 Central Pacific Railway Company, president and director;  
 Chicago and Alton Railroad Company, director;  
 Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, director;  
 Delaware and Hudson Company, member of the board of managers;  
 The Equitable Trust Company of New York, trustee;  
 Erie Railroad Company, director;  
 Guaranty Trust Company of New York, director;  
 Illinois Central Railroad Company, director;  
 Ilwaco Railway and Navigation Company, director;  
 International Banking Corporation, director;  
 Leavenworth, Kansas and Western Railroad, director;  
 Louisiana Western Railroad Company, president and director;  
 Mercantile Trust Company, director;  
 Morgan's Louisiana and Texas Railroad (and Steamship Company), president and director;  
 Nassau Electric Railroad Company, director;  
 New York, Susquehanna and Western Railroad Company, director;  
 The Night and Day Bank, director;  
 Orange County Road Construction Company, president and director;  
 Oregon and California Railroad Company, president and director;  
 Oregon Railroad and Navigation Company, president and director;  
 Oregon Short Line Railroad Company, president and director;  
 The Pacific Coast Company, director;  
 Pacific Mail Steamship Company, president and director;  
 Pere Marquette Railroad Company, director;  
 Portland and Asiatic Steamship Company, president and director;  
 Railroad Securities Company, president and director;  
 San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad, director;  
 South Pacific Coast Railway, president and director;  
 Southern Pacific Company, president and director;  
 Southern Pacific Terminal Company, president and director;  
 Texas and New Orleans Railroad Company, president and director;  
 Union Pacific Land Company, director;  
 Union Pacific Railroad Company, president, chairman of the executive committee, and director;  
 Wells, Fargo & Co., chairman of executive committee and director;

Wells, Fargo-Nevada National Bank, director; and  
 The Western Union Telegraph Company, director.

## MOSES TAYLOR:

City Real Property Investing Company, director;  
 Clayton Fire Extinguishing and Disinfecting Company, vice-president and director;  
 Cornwall-Lebanon Railroad, director;  
 Cornwall Railroad, director;  
 Electric Properties Company, director;  
 Franklin Iron Company, director;  
 Knickerbocker Trust Company, director;  
 Lackawanna Steel Company, director;  
 Lake Champlain and Moriah Railroad Company, vice-president and director;  
 The Mines Furnace Company, director;  
 New Amsterdam Gas Company, president and director;  
 Shenandoah Steel Wire Company, director;  
 The South Buffalo Railway Company, vice-president and director;  
 Southern Steel Company, Gadsden, Ala., director;  
 Stony Point Land Company, director;  
 Sulphur Dioxide Fumigating and Fire Extinguishing Company, director;  
 Tilly Foster Iron Company, director;  
 Westchester and Bronx Title and Mortgage Guaranty Company, vice-president and director;  
 Westchester Trust Company, director; and  
 Witherbee, Sherman & Co., director.

## C. H. DODGE:

Alamogordo and Sacramento Mountain Railway, director;  
 Almage Mining Company, vice-president and director;  
 The American Brass Company, director;  
 Ansonia Clock Company, vice-president and director;  
 Atlantic Mutual Insurance Company, trustee;  
 The Brearley School (Limited), vice-president and director;  
 Cayuga and Susquehanna Railroad Company, director;  
 Columbia Bank, director;  
 Commercial Mining Company, director;  
 Copper Queen Consolidated Mining Company, director;  
 Dawson Railway and Coal Company, director;  
 Detroit Copper Mining Company, of Arizona, vice-president and director;  
 El Paso and Northeastern Company, treasurer and director;  
 El Paso and Rock Island Railway, director;  
 El Paso and Southwestern Railroad Company, treasurer and director;  
 Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, director;  
 The Golden Hill Corporation, director;  
 Greene-Canaan Copper Company, director;  
 Lackawanna Iron and Coal Company, director;  
 Montezuma Copper Mining Company, director;  
 Morenci Southern Railway Company, vice-president and director;  
 Nacozari Railroad Company, director;  
 National Railroad Company of Mexico, director;  
 New Mexico Railway and Coal Company, director;  
 New York Life Insurance and Trust Company, director;  
 The Old Dominion Company, of Maine, director;  
 Quincy Mining Company, director; and  
 United Globe Mines, director.

## J. H. POST:

President and director of the National Sugar Refining Company;  
 The Alliance Realty Company, director;  
 American-Hawaiian Steamship Company, director;  
 Bank of Havana, member of New York committee;  
 Chaparra Sugar Company, treasurer and director;  
 Cuban-American Sugar Company, treasurer and director;  
 The Fajardo Sugar Company, director;  
 Guantanamo Sugar Company, vice-president and director;  
 London Assurance Corporation, trustee;  
 Mercedita Sugar Company, director;  
 The Nassau Trust Company, trustee;  
 New Niquero Sugar Company, president and director;  
 United States Realty and Improvement Company, director;  
 West India Land and Trading Company, director; and  
 Williamsburgh Savings Bank, trustee.

## HENRY A. C. TAYLOR:

Cayuga and Susquehanna Railroad, director;  
 Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, member of board of managers;  
 Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, director;  
 Industrial Trust Company, Providence, director;  
 Lackawanna Steel Company, director;  
 Morris and Essex Railroad Company, director;  
 New York Life Insurance and Trust Company, trustee;  
 Newport Trust Company, director;  
 Plaza Bank, director; and  
 The Second National Bank, director.

## WILLIAM ROCKEFELLER:

President and director of Standard Oil Company;  
 Amalgamated Copper Company, director;  
 Anaconda Copper Mining Company, trustee;  
 Brooklyn Union Gas Company, director;  
 Central New England Railway Company, director;  
 Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company, director;  
 Consolidated Gas Company of New York, trustee;  
 Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, member of board of managers;  
 East River Gas Company of Long Island City, director;  
 The Hanover National Bank, director;  
 Harlem River and Portchester Railroad Company, director;  
 Hartford and Connecticut Western Railroad Company, director;  
 Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway Company, director;  
 Michigan Central Railroad Company, director;  
 Mohawk and Malone Railway Company, director;  
 National Transit Company, director;  
 The New England Navigation Company, director;  
 New York and Harlem Railroad Company, director;  
 New York and Ottawa Railway, director;  
 New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, director;  
 New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad Company, director;  
 New York Mutual Gas Light Company, director;  
 New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company, director;

New York, Ontario and Western Railway Company, director;  
New York State Realty and Terminal Company, director;  
Pittsburg and Lake Erie Railroad Company, director;  
Poughkeepsie Bridge Railroad Company, director;  
Rutland Railroad Company, director;  
St. Lawrence and Adirondack Railway, director;  
Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, vice-president and director;  
United Metals Selling Company, director;  
United States Trust Company, trustee; and  
West Shore Railroad, director.

## HENRY C. FRICK:

Union Trust Company, Clariton, Pa., director;  
Diamond Light and Power Company, secretary and treasurer;  
City Deposit Bank, Pittsburg, director;  
Union Insurance Company, director;  
National Union Fire Insurance Company, director;  
United States Steel Corporation, director;  
Mellon's National Bank, Pittsburg, director; and  
Union Trust Company of Pittsburg, director.

## P. A. VALENTINE:

Armour & Co., vice-president and director;  
Armour Grain Company, director;  
Central Trust Company, of Illinois, director;  
Chicago City Railway, director;  
Chicago Junction Railway, director;  
Chicago Warehouse and Terminal Company, director;  
Continental National Bank, director;  
Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, New York, director;  
Fidelity Trust Company, director;  
Illinois Tunnel Company, director;  
Interstate National Bank, director;  
Kansas City Electric Light Company, director;  
Kansas City Railway and Light Company, director;  
Metropolitan Street Railway, Kansas City, Mo., director;  
National City Bank, New York, director;  
National Packing Company, director;  
New York Trust Company, director;  
St. Louis Stock Yards Company, director;  
Stock Yards Savings Bank, director;  
Third National Bank, St. Louis, director;  
Union Stock Yards Company, Omaha, vice-president and director;  
Union Stock Yards and Transit Company, of Chicago, director; and  
United States Leather Company, director.

## CYRUS H. M'CORMICK:

Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company, director;  
International Harvester Company, president and director;  
Merchants' Loan and Trust Company, director; and  
National City Bank, New York, director.

## G. W. PERKINS:

Astor Trust Company, director;  
Bankers' Trust Company, director;  
Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railway Company, chairman executive committee and director;  
Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton Railroad Company, chairman board of directors;  
Dayton and Union Railroad Company, director;  
German-American Insurance Company, director;  
Great Central Dock Company, vice-president and director;  
International Harvester Company, chairman finance committee and director;  
International Mercantile Marine Company, director;  
Marquette and Bessemer Dock and Navigation Company, director;  
New York Trust Company, trustee;  
Northern Pacific Railway Company, director;  
Northern Securities Company, director;  
Pere Marquette Railroad Company, chairman board of directors;  
Toledo Railway and Terminal Company, president and director; and  
United States Steel Corporation, director.

## FRANCIS M. BACON:

Atlantic Mutual Insurance Company, trustee; and  
Seamen's Bank of Savings in the city of New York, trustee.

## M. TAYLOR PYNE:

Cayuga and Susquehanna Railroad, president and director;  
Commercial Trust Company of New Jersey, director;  
Consolidated Gas Company of New York, trustee;  
Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, member board of managers;  
East River Gas Company of Long Island City, director;  
Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, director;  
Harvey Steel Company, director;  
Lackawanna Iron and Coal Company, director;  
Lackawanna Steel Company, director;  
Morris and Essex Railroad Company, director;  
New Jersey Zinc Company, director;  
New York, Lackawanna and Western Railway Company, director;  
Newark and Bloomfield Railroad, director;  
Passaic and Delaware Railroad, director;  
Princeton Bank, director;  
Sussex Railroad, director;  
United New Jersey Railroad and Canal Company, director;  
University Power Company, vice-president and director;  
Utica, Chenango and Susquehanna Valley Railroad Company, director;  
Valley Railroad Company, director; and  
Warren Railroad Company, president and director.

## WILLIAM D. SLOAN:

Central and South American Telegraph Company, director;  
Eastern Steel Company, director;  
Fifth Avenue Trust Company, vice-president and trustee;  
Greenwich Savings Bank, trustee;  
Mahoning Coal Railroad Company, director;  
United States Trust Company, trustee; and  
W. & J. Sloane, director.

## C. S. FAIRCHILD:

President and director of Atlanta and Charlotte Air Line Railroad;  
Audit Company of New York, member advisory committee of stockholders;  
Birkbeck Investment Savings and Loan Company of America, president and trustee;

British and American Mortgage Company (Limited), director;  
Erie and Pittsburg Railroad Company, director;  
Lawyers' Mortgage Company, vice-president and director; and  
Svea Fire and Life Insurance Company, United States trustee.

## JOHN W. STERLING:

Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Company, director;  
Central Union Gas Company, director;  
Citizens' Mutual Gas Light Company, of Long Island City, director;  
Consolidated Gas Company, of New York, trustee;  
Duluth, South Shore and Atlantic Railway Company, director;  
East River Gas Company, of Long Island City, director;  
Mutual Trust Company of Westchester County, director;  
New Amsterdam Gas Company, director;  
New York Trust Company, trustee;  
Northern Union Gas Company, director;  
Standard Gas Light Company, of the City of New York, director; and  
Westchester Lighting Company, director.

## HENRY O. HAVEMEYER (DECEASED):

The Alliance Realty Company, director;  
American Coffee Company, president and director;  
American Sugar Refining Company, president and director;  
Brooklyn Cooperage Company, director;  
Brooklyn Eastern District Terminal, director;  
Brooklyn Elevator and Milling Company, director;  
Colonial Safe Deposit Company, director;  
Colonial Trust Company, trustee;  
Great Western Company, president and director;  
New Jersey and New York Realty and Improvement Company, director; and  
Palmer Waterfront Land and Improvement Company, director.

## STEPHEN S. PALMER:

President and director of New Jersey Zinc Company;  
Bertah Mineral Company, vice-president and director;  
Cayuga and Susquehanna Railroad, secretary, treasurer, and director;  
Colonial Assurance Company, vice-president and director;  
Consolidated Gas Company of New York, trustee;  
Detroit, Hillsdale and Southwestern Railroad, vice-president and director;  
East River Gas Company, of Long Island City, director;  
Empire Zinc Company, of Missouri, director;  
Empire Zinc Company, of Colorado, president and director;  
Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, director;  
Fort Wayne and Jackson Railroad, vice-president and director;  
Green Bay and Western Railroad Company, president and chairman board of directors;  
Harvey Steel Company, president and director;  
Iola and Northern Railway, president and director;  
Kewaunee, Green Bay and Western Railroad, president and director;  
McDonald Land and Mining Company, president and director;  
Mineral Point Zinc Company, treasurer and director;  
New Jersey Zinc Company, of Pennsylvania, president and director;  
New York Edison Company, director;  
New York Mutual Gas Light Company, director;  
Palmer Land Company, president and director;  
Palmer Water Company, president and director;  
Prime Western Spelter Company, president and director;  
Princeton Bank, director;  
Robins Conveying Belt Company, director;  
St. Louis and Hannibal Railway, president and director;  
Tefft Weller Company, director;  
United States Realty and Improvement Company, director; and  
Valley Railroad Company, director.

## JACOB H. SCHIFF:

Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Company, director;  
Columbia Bank, director;  
Fidelity Trust Company, Philadelphia, director;  
Fifth Avenue Trust Company, director;  
Industrial Trust Company, Providence, R. I., director;  
Morton Trust Company, director;  
National Bank of Commerce, in New York, director;  
Newport Trust Company, director;  
Title Guarantee and Trust Company, director; and  
Woodbine Land and Improvement Company, vice-president and director.

*Directors of National Bank of Commerce of New York City (Morgan control).<sup>a</sup>*

## T. H. HUBBARD:

A. and N. Realty Company, vice-president and director;  
Acadia Coal Company (Limited), director;  
American Light and Traction Company, chairman of executive committee, director;  
Chattanooga Southern Railroad, vice-president and director;  
Equitable Trust Company of New York, trustee;  
Guatemala Central Railroad Company, president and director;  
Guatemala Railway Company, director;  
The International Bank, president and director;  
International Banking Corporation, president and chairman board of directors;  
Lookout Fuel Company, vice-president and director;  
Mechanics' National Bank, director;  
Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, director;  
Mortgage-Bond Company of New York, director;  
Philippine Railway Company, director;  
Public Accountants' Corporation, director;  
Sixty Wall Street, director;  
Toledo, St. Louis and Western Railroad, vice-president and director;  
Wabash Railroad Company, director;  
Washington Building Company, director; and  
Western Union Telegraph Company, director.

## ADRIAN ISELIN, JR.:

Adrian Furnace Company, director;  
Astor Trust Company, director;  
Baloise Fire Insurance Company, resident trustee;  
Bank of Savings in the City of New York, trustee;  
Buffalo, Rochester and Pittsburg Railway Company, vice-president and director;

<sup>a</sup> The names of two directors are omitted as unimportant.



Central Trust Company, trustee;  
 City and Suburban Homes Company, director;  
 Cowanshannock Coal and Coke Company, president and director;  
 Fifth Avenue Trust Company, trustee;  
 Franco-American Financial Association, director;  
 Gallatin National Bank, director;  
 Guaranty Trust Company of New York, director;  
 Helvetia Realty Company, president and director;  
 Jefferson and Clearfield Coal and Iron Company, director;  
 Lackawanna Steel Company, director;  
 Manhattan Storage and Warehouse Company, secretary, treasurer, and trustee;  
 Mobile and Ohio Railroad Company, director;  
 National Railroad Company, of Mexico, director;  
 Neptune Realty Company, president and director;  
 New Rochelle Water Company, secretary, treasurer, and director;  
 New York Dock Company, director;  
 North British and Mercantile Insurance Company of London and Edinburgh, United States director;  
 North British and Mercantile Insurance Company of New York, director;  
 Pittsburgh Gas Coal Company, vice-president and director;  
 Punxsutawney Iron Company, director;  
 Reynoldsville and Falls Creek Railroad, director; and  
 Southern Railway Company, director.

## BRAYTON IVES:

President and director of the Metropolitan Trust Company;  
 Atlantic Safe Deposit Company, director;  
 Hecker-Jones-Jewell Milling Company, president and director;  
 Kanona and Prattsburgh Railway Company, president and director;  
 Metcalf Land Company, president and director;  
 Standard Milling Company, president and director;  
 United States Guarantee Company, director; and  
 Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, chairman board of directors.

## OTTO H. KAHN:

Equitable Trust Company of New York, trustee; and  
 Morristown Trust Company, director.

## LUTHER KOUNTZE:

United States Mortgage and Trust Company, vice-president and director.

## J. PIERPONT MORGAN:

Aetna Insurance Company, of Hartford, Conn., director;  
 American China Development Company, director;  
 Carthage and Adirondack Railway Company, director;  
 Carthage, Watertown and Sackets Harbor Railroad Company, director;  
 Central New England Railway Company, director;  
 Clearwater and Raquette Lake Railroad, director;  
 Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis Railway Company, director;  
 Columbus, Hope and Greensburg Railroad, director;  
 Dunkirk, Allegheny Valley and Pittsburgh Railroad Company, director;  
 Ellenville and Kingston Railroad Company, director;  
 First National Bank of the City of New York, director;  
 Fort Wayne, Cincinnati and Louisville Railroad Company, director;  
 Fulton Chain Railroad Company, director;  
 Fulton Navigation Company, director;  
 General Electric Company, director;  
 Harlem River and Portchester Railroad, director;  
 Hartford and Connecticut Western Railroad Company, director;  
 Jersey City and Bayonne Railroad Company, director;  
 Lake Erie and Western Railroad Company, director;  
 Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway Company, director;  
 Mexican Telegraph Company, director;  
 Michigan Central Railroad Company, director;  
 Mohawk and Malone Railroad Company, director;  
 Newburg, Dutchess and Connecticut Railroad Company, director;  
 New England Navigation Company, The, director;  
 New England Railroad Company, director;  
 New Jersey Junction Railroad Company, director;  
 New Jersey Shore Line Railroad Company, director;  
 New York and Harlem Railroad Company, director;  
 New York and Northern Railway Company, director;  
 New York and Ottawa Railway Company, director;  
 New York and Putnam Railroad Company, director;  
 New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, director;  
 New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad Company, director;  
 New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company, director;  
 New York, Ontario and Western Railway Company, director;  
 New York State Realty and Terminal Company, director;  
 Niagara Falls Branch Railroad Company, director;  
 Ontario, Carbondale and Scranton Railway Company, director;  
 Pittsburg and Lake Erie Railroad Company, director;  
 Port Jervis, Monticello and Summitville Railroad Company, director;  
 Poughkeepsie Bridge Railroad Company, director;  
 Pullman Company, The, director;  
 Raquette Lake Railway Company, director;  
 Rhode Island Company (electric line), director;  
 Rutland Railroad Company, director;  
 St. Lawrence and Adirondack Railway Company, director;  
 Syracuse, Geneva and Corning Railway Company, director;  
 Terminal Railway of Buffalo, director;  
 United States Steel Corporation, director;  
 Wallkill Valley Railroad Company, director;  
 West Shore Railroad, director; and  
 Western Union Telegraph Company, director.

## A. D. JUILLIARD:

Bank of America, director;  
 Central Trust Company, trustee;  
 Chemical National Bank, The, director;  
 Cossit Land Company, president and director;  
 Fifth Avenue Trust Company, The, trustee;  
 Girard Trust Company, Philadelphia, director;  
 Guaranty Trust Company of New York, director;  
 Morton Trust Company, director;  
 Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, The, trustee;  
 New York Life Insurance and Trust Company, trustee;  
 North British and Mercantile Insurance Company of London and Edinburgh, United States director;

North British and Mercantile Insurance Company of New York, director;  
 Ohio Company of Associates, director;  
 Realty Associates, director; and  
 Title Guarantee and Trust Company, The, trustee.

## G. G. HAVEN:

Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company, The, director;  
 Bank of America, director;  
 California Eastern Railway, director;  
 Fifth Avenue Trust Company, The, trustee;  
 Guaranty Trust Company of New York, director;  
 Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe Railway, director;  
 Industrial Trust Company, Providence, director;  
 Morristown Trust Company, director;  
 Morton Trust Company, director;  
 New York and Harlem Railroad Company, director;  
 Newport Trust Company, director;  
 Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railway Company, vice-president and director;  
 Sonora Railway, director; and  
 Worcester, Nashua and Rochester Railroad Company, president and director.

## JAMES N. JARVIE:

Bank of America, director;  
 Bloomfield Trust Company, director;  
 Central Trust Company, trustee;  
 Guaranty Trust Company of New York, director;  
 London Assurance Corporation, trustee;  
 Morton Trust Company, director;  
 Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, The, trustee; and  
 Worcester, Nashua and Rochester Railroad, director.

## FREDERIC CROMWELL:

Atlanta and Charlotte Air Line Railway Company, director;  
 Delaware and Hudson Company, The, member board of managers;  
 Fifth Avenue Trust Company, The, trustee;  
 Gill Engraving Company, director;  
 Guaranty Trust Company of New York, director;  
 Husted Realty Company, director;  
 Jefferson and Clearfield Coal and Iron Company, director;  
 Morris and Essex Railroad, director;  
 Morristown Trust Company, director;  
 Morton Trust Company, director;  
 Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, The, trustee;  
 New York Dock Company, director;  
 Sixth Avenue Railroad Company, director; and  
 Worcester, Nashua and Rochester Railroad, director.

## H. P. WHITNEY:

Clearwater and Raquette Lake Railroad, director;  
 Cuba Company, The, director;  
 Eastern Steel Company, The, director;  
 Electric Storage Battery Company, The, director;  
 Fifth Avenue Trust Company, The, trustee;  
 Fulton Chain Railroad Company, director;  
 Fulton Navigation Company, director;  
 Guaranty Trust Company of New York, director;  
 Guggenheim Exploration Company, director;  
 Long Island Motor Parkway (Incorporated), first vice-president and director;  
 Morton Trust Company, director;  
 Nassau County Bank, Mineola, N. Y., director;  
 Nassau Light and Power Company, director;  
 New York Loan and Improvement Company, The, director;  
 Newport Trust Company, director;  
 Plaza Bank, The, director;  
 Raquette Lake Railway Company, director;  
 Union Exchange Bank, director;  
 Washington Life Insurance Company, director;  
 Westchester Racing Association, director; and  
 Western Mining Company, director.

## C. A. PEABODY:

President and director of Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York;  
 Astor Trust Company, director;  
 The Bank for Savings in the City of New York, trustee;  
 The Delaware and Hudson Company, member of board of managers;  
 The Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, director;  
 Fulton Trust Company, trustee;  
 The Gallatin National Bank, director;  
 Illinois Central Railroad Company, director;  
 The Title Guarantee and Trust Company, trustee; and  
 Union Pacific Railroad Company, director.

## C. H. ALLEN:

Vice-president and director of Morton Trust Company;  
 American Surety Company of New York, trustee;  
 Continental Rubber Company of America, treasurer and director;  
 Electric Properties Company, director; and  
 Washington Life Insurance Company, vice-president and director.

## A. W. KRECH:

President and trustee of Equitable Trust Company of New York;  
 American Surety Company of New York, trustee;  
 Bank of Havana, member of New York committee;  
 City Investing Company, director;  
 Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, director;  
 Commercial Trust Company of Philadelphia, director;  
 The Distilling Company of America, director;  
 The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, director;  
 The Mercantile Trust Company, director;  
 St. Bartholomew's Loan Association, director;  
 Union Exchange Bank, director; and  
 Wheeling and Lake Erie Railroad Company, vice-president and director.

## P. D. CRAVATH:

American Surety Company of New York, trustee;  
 Commercial Trust Company, Philadelphia, Pa., director;  
 Electric Properties Company, director;  
 The Equitable Trust Company of New York, director;  
 Interborough-Metropolitan Company, director;  
 International Harvester Company, director;

The Lackawanna and Wyoming Valley Rapid Transit Company, director;  
 Mercantile Trust Company, director;  
 Morton Trust Company, counsel and director;  
 Standard Safe Deposit Company, director; and  
 The Standard Trust Company, director.

## V. MORAWETZ:

Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company, The, chairman  
 executive committee and director;  
 California Eastern Railway Company, director;  
 Guantano Sugar Company, director;  
 Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe Railway Company, director;  
 International Paper Company, director;  
 Niagara Falls Power Company, The, director;  
 Santa Fe, Prescott and Phoenix Railway Company, director;  
 Norfolk and Western Railway Company, director; and  
 Southern California Railway Company, director.

## P. MORTON:

President and director Equitable Life Assurance Society of the  
 United States;  
 Continental Rubber Company of America, director;  
 Equitable Trust Company of New York, trustee;  
 Fifth Avenue Trust Company, The, trustee;  
 Great Western Cereal Company, The, director;  
 Iowa Central Railway Company, director; and  
 Mercantile Trust Company, The, director.

## LEVI P. MORTON:

President and director of Morton Trust Company;  
 Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, director;  
 Fifth Avenue Trust Company, president and trustee;  
 Guaranty Trust Company of New York, director;  
 Homes Insurance Company, director;  
 Industrial Trust Company, Providence, director;  
 Newport Trust Company, director; and  
 Washington Life Insurance Company of New York, director.

## W. G. OAKMAN:

President and director of Hudson Companies;  
 Alabama Great Southern Railroad Company, director;  
 American Car and Foundry Company, director;  
 Brooklyn Heights Railroad Company, director;  
 Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company, director;  
 Buffalo, Rochester and Pittsburgh Railway Company, director;  
 Guaranty Trust Company of New York, chairman of board of direc-  
 tors;

Havana Electric Railway Company, director;  
 Hudson Improvement Company, president and director;  
 Interborough-Metropolitan Company, director;  
 Interborough Rapid Transit Company, director;  
 Jefferson and Clearfield Coal and Iron Company, vice-president and  
 director;

Long Island Consolidated Electrical Companies, director;  
 Long Island Railroad Company, director;  
 Louisville and Nashville Railroad Company, director;  
 Morristown Trust Company, director;  
 Morton Trust Company, director;  
 Mutual Trust Company of Westchester County, director;  
 New York and Long Island Railroad Company, director;  
 New York and Queens County Railway, director;  
 New York City Interborough Railway Company, director;  
 Rapid Transit Subway Construction Company, vice-president and  
 director;

Reynoldsville and Falls Creek Railroad, director;  
 Richmond Light and Railroad Company, director;  
 Rogers Locomotive Works, director; and  
 Subway Realty Company, vice-president and director.

## T. F. RYAN:

President and director of Morton Trust Company;  
 American Tobacco Company, director;  
 Commercial Trust Company of Philadelphia, director;  
 Continental Rubber Company of America, director;  
 Fifth Avenue Trust Company, trustee;  
 Industrial Trust Company of Providence, director;  
 Mercantile Trust Company, director; and  
 Seaboard Air Line Railway, director.

## J. H. SCHIFF:

(For his directorships see enumeration following his name in list of  
 directors of National City Bank.)

## G. W. YOUNG:

Acker, Merrill & Condit Company, director;  
 Alma Coal Company, director;  
 Anacostia and Potomac River Railroad Company, director;  
 Atlantic Securities Company, director;  
 Audit Company of New York, vice-president and director;  
 Brightwood Railway Company, director;  
 C. K. Davis Coal Company, director;  
 Casualty Company of America, director;  
 Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton Railroad Company, director;  
 City and Suburban Homes Company, director;  
 City and Suburban Railway Company, Washington, director;  
 Clarksburg Fuel Company, director;  
 Columbia Railway Company, director;  
 Commercial Trust Company of New Jersey, vice-president and di-  
 rector;

Continental Investment Company, vice-president and director;  
 Detroit, Toledo and Ironton Railway Company, director;  
 Fairmont Coal Company, director;  
 First National Bank of Bayonne, vice-president and director;  
 Georgetown and Tennallytown Railway Company, director;  
 Interborough-Metropolitan Company, director;  
 Interborough Rapid Transit Company, director;  
 Jersey City Trust Company, director;  
 Mechanics' Trust Company of New Jersey, vice-president and director;  
 Metropolitan Railway Company, Washington, D. C., director;  
 New Jersey and Hudson River Railway and Ferry Company, director;  
 Northern New Jersey Land Company, director;  
 Northern Railroad Company of New Jersey, director;  
 O'Rourke Engineering Construction Company, secretary, treasurer,  
 and director;  
 Pere Marquette Railroad Company, director;  
 Perth Amboy Trust Company, director;

Potomac Electric Power Company, director;  
 Rapid Transit Subway Construction Company, director;  
 Registrar and Transfer Company of New Jersey, president and di-  
 rector;  
 Registrar and Transfer Company of New York, director;  
 Third National Bank, Jersey City, N. J., director;  
 Union Gas and Electric Company, Cincinnati, vice-president and di-  
 rector;  
 Washington and Glen Echo Railroad Company, director;  
 Washington and Rockville Railroad Company, director;  
 Washington Investment Company, director;  
 Washington Railway and Electric Company, director;  
 Washington, Woodside and Forest Glen Railway and Power Com-  
 pany, director; and  
 Windsor Trust Company, director.

## G. F. BAKER:

American Telephone and Telegraph Company, director;  
 Astor Trust Company, director;  
 Atlas Portland Cement Company, director;  
 Bankers' Safe Deposit Company, vice-president and trustee;  
 Bowery Savings Bank, trustee;  
 Car Trust Investment Company (Limited), London, director;  
 Central Railroad Company of New Jersey, director;  
 Chase National Bank, director;  
 Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad Company, director;  
 Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton Railway Company, director;  
 Consolidated Gas Company of New York, trustee;  
 Continental Insurance Company, director;  
 Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, member board  
 of managers;

East Jersey Water Company, director;  
 East River Gas Company of Long Island City, director;  
 Erie Railroad Company, director;  
 Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, director;  
 First National Bank of Chicago, director;  
 First National Bank of the City of New York, president and director;  
 Guaranty Trust Company of New York, director;  
 Industrial Trust Company, Providence, director;  
 Jersey City Water Supply Company, vice-president and director;  
 Lake Erie and Western Railroad Company, director;  
 Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway Company, director;  
 Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company, director;  
 Lehigh Valley Railroad Company, director;  
 Lehigh Valley Coal Company, director;  
 Liberty National Bank, director;  
 Manhattan Trust Company, director;  
 Michigan Central Railroad Company, director;  
 Mohawk and Malone Railway Company, director;  
 Montclair Water Company, director;  
 Morton Trust Company, director;  
 Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, trustee;  
 New Jersey General Security Company, president and director;  
 New York and Long Branch Railroad Company, president and  
 director;

New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, director;  
 New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad Company, director;  
 New York Clearing House Building, director;  
 New York Mutual Gaslight Company, director;  
 Newport Trust Company, director;  
 Northern Pacific Railway Company, director;  
 Northern Securities Company, second vice-president and director;  
 Pere Marquette Railroad Company, director;  
 Provident Loan Society of New York, trustee;  
 Spring Brook Water Supply Company, director;  
 United States Steel Corporation, director; and  
 West Shore Railroad, director.

## C. T. BARNEY (DECEASED):

Albany Trust Company, director;  
 Alliance Realty Company, director;  
 American Ice Company, director;  
 Audit Company of New York, member of advisory committee of stock  
 holders;

Bank for Savings in the City of New York, trustee;  
 Century Realty Company, vice-president and director;  
 Chelsea Realty Company, director;  
 Chemung Canal Trust Company, director;  
 Chihuahua Mining Company, director;  
 Coal and Iron National Bank of the City of New York, director;  
 Corporation Trust Company, New Jersey, director;  
 Cuba Railroad Company, director;  
 Deep Gravel Mining Company, director;  
 French-American Bank, member of American advisory board;  
 Good Land Cypress Company, director;  
 Hudson Mortgage Company, director;  
 Knickerbocker Safe Deposit Company, president and director;  
 Knickerbocker Trust Company, president and director;  
 Long Island Motor Parkway (Incorporated), director;  
 Matawok Land Company, director;  
 National Bank of North America, director;  
 New Amsterdam National Bank, director;  
 New Amsterdam Safe Deposit Company, director;  
 New Jersey Terminal Dock and Improvement Company, director;  
 New York Loan and Improvement Company, president and director;  
 New York Mortgage and Security Company, vice-president and  
 director;  
 Schenectady Trust Company, director;  
 Taylor Creek Ditch Company, director;  
 Title Insurance Company of New York, vice-president and director;  
 Trust Company of America, director;  
 United States Realty and Improvement Company, director; and  
 Westchester Trust Company, director.

## E. J. BERWIND:

Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company, director;  
 Berwind-White Coal Mining Company, president and director;  
 Cuba Company, director;  
 Fifth Avenue Trust Company, trustee;  
 Girard Trust Company of Philadelphia, director;  
 Havana Coal Company, president and director;  
 Interborough-Metropolitan Company, director;  
 International Coal Company, president and director;  
 International Mercantile Marine Company, director;  
 Morton Trust Company, director;



Newport Trust Company, director;  
New River and Pocahontas Consolidated Coal Company, director;  
Ocean Coal Company, president and director;  
Republic Iron and Steel Company, director;  
Santa Fe, Prescott and Phoenix Railway, director;  
Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company, director;  
Tintic Company, director;  
Virginia and Southwestern Railway Company, director;  
Virginia Iron, Coal and Coke Company, director;  
Wilmore Coal Company, president and director; and  
Windber National Bank, director.

## C. LEDYARD BLAIR:

Belvidere National Bank, director;  
Commercial Trust Company of New Jersey, director;  
Ellenville and Kingston Railroad, director;  
Green Bay and Western Railroad Company, director;  
Kewaunee, Green Bay and Western Railroad, director;  
Lackawanna Steel Company, director;  
Ontario, Carbondale and Scranton Railway Company, director;  
St. Louis and Hannibal Railway, director;  
Securities Company, director;  
Sussex Railroad, director;  
Sussex Realty Company, president and director;  
United States Mortgage and Trust Company, director; and  
Warren Railroad, director.

## H. C. DEMING:

Equitable Trust Company of New York, trustee;  
Fifth Avenue Trust Company, director; and  
Mercantile Trust Company, president and director.

## J. F. DRYDEN:

President and director of Prudential Insurance Company;  
Commercial Trust Company of Philadelphia, director;  
Equitable Trust Company of New York, trustee;  
Fidelity Trust Company, Newark, vice-president and director;  
Franklin National Bank, Philadelphia, director;  
Mercantile Trust Company, director;  
Union National Bank, Newark, vice-president and director;  
United States Casualty Company, director; and  
United States Steel Corporation, director.

## J. B. DUKE:

President and director American Tobacco Company;  
American Snuff Company, director;  
American Surety Company, trustee;  
Blackwell's Durham Tobacco Company, director;  
British-American Tobacco Company (Limited), chairman board of directors;  
Imperial Tobacco Company of London, director;  
International Cigar Machinery Company, director;  
Morton Trust Company, director;  
Republic Iron and Steel Company of New Jersey, director;  
Southern Cotton Oil Company, director;  
Southern Power Company, director;  
Union Bleaching and Finishing Company, director;  
Virginia-Carolina Chemical Company, director; and  
Wesson Company, director.

## G. J. GOULD:

American District Telegraph Company of New Jersey, director;  
American Telegraph and Cable Company, director;  
American Union Telegraph Company, director;  
Arkansas Midland Railroad, president and director;  
Atlantic and Pacific Telegraph Company, director;  
Bowling Green Trust Company, director;  
Chicago Elevator Company, director;  
Coal Belt Railway, president and director;  
Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, director;  
Colorado Midland Railway Company, director;  
Continental Trust Company of Baltimore, director;  
Davis Coal and Coke Company, director;  
Denver and Rio Grande Railroad Company, chairman board of directors;  
Eldorado and Bastrop Railway, director;  
Farmerville and Southern Railroad, president and director;  
Fort Smith Suburban Railway, president and director;  
Galveston, Houston and Henderson Railroad Company, director;  
Globe Express Company, director;  
Globe and Stock Telegraph Company, director;  
International and Great Northern Railroad Company, president and director;  
International Ocean Telegraph Company, president and director;  
Kansas and Arkansas Valley Railway, president and director;  
Kansas City Northwestern Railroad Company, president and director;  
Kansas-Missouri Elevator Company, director;  
Little Rock Junction Railway, president and director;  
Manhattan Railway Company, president and director;  
Mercantile Trust Company, director;  
Missouri Pacific Railway Company, president and director;  
New York Mutual Telegraph Company, director;  
New York Telephone Company, director;  
Pacific Mail Steamship Company, director;  
Pine Bluff and Western Railroad, president and director;  
Pittsburg Terminal Railroad and Coal Company, director;  
Rio Grande Southern Railroad, director;  
Rio Grande Western Railway Company, chairman board of directors;  
St. Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern Railway Company, president and director;  
St. Louis, Watkins and Gulf Railroad, president and director;  
Sedalia, Warsaw and Southwestern Railway Company, president and director;  
Southern and Atlantic Telegraph Company, director;  
Texas and Pacific Railway Company, president and director;  
Utah Fuel Company, director;  
Wabash, Pittsburg Terminal Railway Company, chairman board of directors;  
Wabash Railroad Company, director;  
Washington and New Orleans Telegraph Company, director;  
West Virginia Central and Pittsburg Railway Company, director;  
Western Maryland Railroad Company, director;  
Western Pacific Railway Company, director;

Western Union Telegraph Company, vice-president and director; and  
Wetherford, Mineral Wells and Northwestern Railway, president and director.

## D. GUGGENHEIM:

American Smelters' Securities Company, president and board of directors;  
American Smelters' Steamship Company, director;  
American Smelting and Refining Company, president and director;  
Continental Rubber Company of America, director;  
Esperanza Mining Company, director;  
Federal Lead Company, vice-president and director;  
Gimbel Brothers (Incorporated), director;  
Guggenheim Exploration Company, president and director;  
Morton Trust Company, director;  
National Lead Company, director; and  
Nevada and Northern Railway Company, director.

## V. P. SNYDER:

American Surety Company of New York, trustee;  
Audit Company of New York, director;  
Casualty Company of America, director;  
Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, director;  
Equitable Trust Company of New York, trustee;  
Essex County Trust Company, East Orange, N. J., director;  
Fifth Avenue Trust Company, trustee;  
Mercantile Trust Company, director;  
Merchants' Safe Deposit Company, director;  
Morton Trust Company, director;  
Union County Trust Company, of Elizabeth, N. J., director;  
Union National Bank, Newark, director;  
United States Mortgage and Trust Company, director; and  
Washington Life Insurance Company, director.

## H. H. VREELAND:

Bleecker Street and Fulton Ferry Railroad Company, president and director;  
Bridge Operating Company, vice-president and director;  
Broadway and Seventh Avenue Railroad, director;  
Central Crosstown Railroad Company, president and director;  
Central Park, North and East River Railroad Company, president and director;  
Cuba Company, director;  
Dry Dock, East Broadway and Battery Railroad Company, president and director;  
Electric Storage Battery Company, director;  
Empire City Safe Deposit Company, vice-president and director;  
Forty-second Street and Grand Street Ferry Railroad Company, president and director;  
Fulton Street Railroad Company, president and director;  
Long Island Electric Railway Company, director;  
Metropolitan Securities Company, president and director;  
Metropolitan Street Railway Company, director;  
New York and Long Island Traction Company, director;  
New York and Queens County Railway Company, director;  
New York City Railway Company, president and director;  
Second Avenue Railroad Company, president and director;  
Third Avenue Railway Company, president and director;  
Thirty-fourth Street Crosstown Railway Company, president and director;  
Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth Streets Crosstown Railroad Company, president and director; and  
Twenty-third Street Railway Company, president and director.

## JOHN CLAFLIN:

President and director of the H. B. Claflin Company;  
American Exchange National Bank, director;  
Associated Merchants' Company, president and director;  
Atlantic Mutual Insurance Company, trustee;  
Commercial Union Assurance Company (Limited) of London, director;  
Commercial Union Fire Insurance Company of New York, director;  
German Alliance Insurance Company, director;  
German-American Insurance Company, director;  
Home Insurance Company, director;  
Hudson Trust Company, director;  
New York Life Insurance and Trust Company, trustee;  
New York Life Insurance Company, trustee;  
Palatine Insurance Company, trustee; and  
United States Trust Company, trustee.

## FREDERICK STURGES:

New York Warehouse and Security Company, president and director; and  
Seamen's Bank for Savings in the City of New York, trustee.

## CHARLES LANIER:

American Cotton Oil Company, director;  
Canal Louisiana Bank and Trust Company, director;  
Catact Construction Company, director;  
Central and South American Telegraph Company, vice-president and director;  
Central Trust Company, trustee;  
Cleveland and Pittsburg Railroad Company, director;  
Massillon and Cleveland Railroad, president and director;  
Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, trustee;  
Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railway Company, president and director;  
Southern Railway Company, director; and  
Western Union Telegraph Company, director.

## JAMES H. PARKER:

J. H. Parker & Co.;  
Coal and Iron National Bank of New York, director; and  
National Realty Company, president, treasurer, and director.

## CHARLES H. RUSSELL:

Of the firm of Stetson, Jennings & Russell.

## WOODBURY LANGDON:

Associated Merchants' Company, director;  
Brighton Yarn Company, director;  
Cannelton Coal Company, director;  
Citizens' Central National Bank, director;  
German Alliance Insurance Company, director;  
German-American Insurance Company, director;  
Hudson Trust Company, director;

New York Life Insurance Company, trustee;  
New York Trust Company, trustee; and  
Title Guarantee and Trust Company, trustee.

*Directors of the industrial, franchise, and railroad organizations who are not included in the list of Standard Oil-Morgan bank directors given above.*

#### JOHN JACOB ASTOR:

Astor Trust Company, The, director;  
Delaware and Hudson Company, The, member of board of managers;  
Illinois Central Railroad Company, director;  
Long Island Motor Parkway (Incorporated), director;  
Mercantile Trust Company, The, director;  
Morton Trust Company, director;  
New York Life Insurance and Trust Company, trustee;  
Niagara Development Company, director;  
Niagara Falls Power Company, The, director;  
Niagara Junction Railway, director;  
Plaza Bank, The, director;  
Title Guarantee and Trust Company, The, trustee; and  
Western Union Telegraph Company, The, director.

#### A. N. BRADY:

American Tobacco Company, The, director;  
Bridgeport Gas Light Company, director;  
Brooklyn Heights Railroad Company, chairman board of directors;  
Brooklyn, Queens County and Suburban Railroad Company, chairman board of directors;  
Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company, chairman board of directors;  
Brooklyn Union Elevated Railroad Company, chairman board of directors;  
Coney Island and Gravesend Railway Company, director;  
Consolidated Car-Heating Company, director;  
Consolidated Gas Company, of New York, trustee;  
Consolidated Gas, Electric Light and Power Company, Baltimore, director;  
Consolidated Telegraph and Electrical Subway Company, director;  
Corn Exchange Bank, The, director;  
East River Gas Company, of Long Island City, director;  
Edison Electric Illuminating Company, of Brooklyn, president and director;  
Electric Storage Battery Company, The, director;  
Fort Wayne Gas Company, vice-president and director;  
Central Rubber Company, director;  
Havana Tobacco Company, director;  
Hudson and Manhattan Railroad Company, director;  
Hudson Companies, The, director;  
International Cigar Machinery Company, director;  
Kings County Electric Light and Power Company, president and director;  
Kings County Lighting Company, vice-president and director;  
Maryland National Bank, Baltimore, director;  
Memphis Consolidated Gas and Electric Company, president and director;  
Municipal Gas Company, Albany, president and director;  
Nassau Electric Railroad Company, chairman board of directors;  
National Commercial Bank, Albany, director;  
National Surety Company, director;  
New Amsterdam Gas Company, director;  
New York Air Brake Company, director;  
New York Carbide and Acetylene Company, vice-president and director;  
New York Edison Company, The, president and director;  
New York Mutual Gas Light Company, director;  
Ohio and Indiana Consolidated Natural and Illuminating Gas Company, director;  
People's Gas Light and Coke Company, Chicago, chairman board of directors;  
Rubber Goods Manufacturing Company, director;  
Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company, director;  
Troy Gas Company, of Troy, N. Y., director;  
Union Bleaching and Finishing Company, director;  
United Electric Light and Power Company, Baltimore, director;  
United States Cast Iron Pipe and Foundry Company, director;  
United States Rubber Company, director;  
Utica Gas and Electric Company, president and director;  
Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, director; and  
Williamsburgh Trust Company, director.

#### AUGUST BELMONT:

Alliance Assurance Company, of London, trustee;  
American Asiatic Steamship Company, The, director;  
American China Development Company, director;  
Audit Company of New York, The, acting president and director;  
Bank for Savings in the City of New York, The, trustee;  
Cape Cod Construction Company, president and director;  
First National Bank of Hempstead, president and director;  
Helvetia Swiss Fire Insurance Company, trustee;  
Interborough-Metropolitan Company, chairman of board of directors;  
Interborough Rapid Transit Company, chairman board of directors;  
Kingston Consolidated Railroad Company, director;  
Long Island Electric Railway Company, director;  
Long Island Motor Parkway (Incorporated), director;  
Long Island Railroad Company, director;  
Manhattan Trust Company, director;  
National Park Bank of New York, The, director;  
New York and Long Island Railroad Company, director;  
New York and Long Island Traction Company, The, director;  
New York and Queens County Railway Company, director;  
North American Transportation and Trading Company, director;  
Phoenix National Bank, vice-president and director;  
Rapid Transit Subway Construction Company, chairman board of directors;  
Subway Realty Company, president and director;  
Westchester Racing Association, president and director; and  
Windsor Trust Company, director.

#### CHAUNCEY M. DEFEW:

American Safe Deposit Company, trustee;  
American Surety Company, trustee;  
Beech Creek Railroad Company, director;  
Brooklyn Warehouse and Storage Company, director;  
Buffalo Erie Basin Railroad Company, director;  
Buffalo, Thousand Islands and Portland Railroad Company, director;  
Canada Southern Bridge Company, director;

Canada Southern Railway Company, director;  
Carthage and Adirondack Railway, director;  
Carthage, Watertown and Sackets Harbor Railroad Company, director;  
Central Dock and Terminal Railway, director;  
Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company, director;  
Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company, director;  
Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha Railway Company, director;  
Clearwater and Raquette Lake Railroad, director;  
Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis Railway Company, director;  
Columbus, Hope and Greensburg Railroad, director;  
Delaware and Hudson Company, The, member board of managers;  
Detroit River Tunnel Company, director;  
Dunkirk, Allegheny Valley and Pittsburg Railroad Company, director;  
Fulton Chain Railroad Company, director;  
Fulton Navigation Company, director;  
Gouverneur and Oswegatchie Railroad Company, director;  
Hudson River Bridge Company, director;  
Jersey City and Bayonne Railroad Company, director;  
Lake Erie, Alliance and Wheeling Railroad, director;  
Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway Company, chairman board of directors;  
Mahoning Coal Railroad Company, director;  
Mercantile Trust Company, The, director;  
Merchants' Despatch Transportation Company, director;  
Michigan Central Railroad Company, director;  
Michigan, Midland and Canada Railroad Company, director;  
Mohawk and Malone Railway Company, director;  
New Jersey Junction Railroad Company, director;  
New Jersey Shore Line Railroad Company, director;  
New York and Harlem Railroad Company, director;  
New York and Ottawa Railway, director;  
New York and Putnam Railroad, director;  
New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, chairman board of directors;  
New York Central Niagara River Railroad Company, director;  
New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad Company, chairman board of directors;  
New York State Realty and Terminal Company, The, director;  
Niagara Falls Branch Railroad, director;  
Niagara Grand Island Bridge Company, director;  
Niagara River Bridge Company, director;  
Oswego and Rome Railroad, director;  
Pine Creek Railway Company, director;  
Raquette Lake Railway Company, director;  
Rome, Watertown and Ogdensburg Railroad Company, director;  
Rutland Railroad Company, director;  
St. Lawrence and Adirondack Railway Company, director;  
Spuytten Duyvil and Port Morris Railroad Company, director;  
Standard Trust Company, The, director;  
Syracuse, Geneva and Corning Railway Company, director;  
Terminal Railway of Buffalo, director;  
Tivoli Hollow Railroad, director;  
Toledo, Canada Southern and Detroit Railway Company, director;  
Toluca Electric Light and Power Company, director;  
Utica and Black River Railroad, director;  
Wallkill Valley Railroad Company, director;  
West Shore Railroad, director;  
Western Transit Company, director; and  
Western Union Telegraph Company, The, director.

#### HENRY M. FLAGLER:

Vice-president and director of Standard Oil Company;  
Cuba Company, The, director;  
Florida East Coast Railway, president and director;  
Jacksonville Terminal Company, president and director;  
Morton Trust Company, director;  
National Fuel Gas Company, director;  
National Transit Company, director;  
New York Transit Company, director;  
Peninsular and Occidental Steamship Company, director; and  
Western Union Telegraph Company, The, director.

#### JAMES C. FARGO:

American Express Company, president and director;  
Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company, director;  
Merchants Dispatch Transportation Company, president and director;  
National Express Company, director;  
United States Express Company, director; and  
Westcott Express Company, president and director.

#### JAMES J. HILL:

Chase National Bank, The, director;  
Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad Company, director;  
Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railway Company, director;  
First National Bank of Chicago, director;  
First National Bank of the City of New York, director;  
Great Northern Railway Company, chairman board of directors;  
Manhattan Trust Company, director;  
Northern Securities Company, president and director; and  
St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway Company, director.

#### EDWIN HAWLEY:

American Exchange National Bank, director;  
British Columbia Copper Company (Limited), The, director;  
Colorado and Southern Railway Company, director;  
Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, director;  
Colorado Midland Railway Company, director;  
Colorado Springs and Cripple Creek District Railway, director;  
Des Moines and Fort Dodge Railroad Company, president and director;  
European Time Table Distributing Company, treasurer and director;  
Great Western Power Company, president and director;  
Guaranty Trust Company of New York, director;  
Iowa Central Railway Company, president and director;  
Keithsburg Bridge Company, director;  
Minneapolis and St. Louis Railroad Company, president and director;  
Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, director;  
Ocean Time Table Distributing Company, treasurer and director;  
Standard Coupler Company, director;  
Toledo, St. Louis and Western Railroad Company, director;



United States Light and Heating Company, The, vice-president and director;  
 United States Realty and Improvement Company, director;  
 Western Pacific Railway Company, director; and  
 Western Power Company, president and director.

## JOHN R. HEGEMAN:

President and director Metropolitan Life Insurance Company;  
 Durland Company, The, director;  
 Flixco Mining Company, president and director;  
 Hamilton Trust Company, trustee;  
 International Banking Corporation, director;  
 Lincoln Traction Company, Nebraska, director;  
 Metropolitan Bank, director;  
 National Surety Company, director;  
 Northampton Portland Cement Company, director;  
 Randolph-Macon Coal Company, director;  
 Union Dime Savings Institution, trustee; and  
 Victor Chemical Works, director.

## W. H. MOORE:

American Can Company, director;  
 Chicago and Alton Railroad Company, The, director;  
 Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad Company, director;  
 Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company, director;  
 Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company, director;  
 Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railway Company, director;  
 Evansville and Indianapolis Railroad, director;  
 Evansville and Terre Haute Railroad Company, director;  
 Evansville Belt Railway Company, director;  
 Fidelity Fire Insurance Company of New York, director;  
 First National Bank of the City of New York, director;  
 Kansas City, Fort Scott and Memphis Railway Company, The, director;  
 Kansas City, Memphis and Birmingham Railroad Company, director;  
 Keokuk and Des Moines Railway Company, director;  
 National Biscuit Company, director;  
 Peoria and Bureau Valley Railroad Company, director;  
 Price Flavoring Extract Company, director;  
 Rock Island Company, The, director;  
 St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad Company, director; and  
 United States Steel Corporation, director.

## FREDERICK WEYERHAUSER:

Weyerhaeuser Timber Company, president;  
 Weyerhaeuser Syndicate, "head of," and  
 Known as "The Lumber King" (Who's Who).

## D. O. MILLS.

Atlantic Coast Steamship Company, The, director;  
 Bank of New York (N. B. A.), director;  
 Bellingham Bay and British Columbia Railroad, director;  
 Cataract Construction Company, director;  
 Champlain Realty Company, director;  
 City and Suburban Homes Company, director;  
 Erie Elevator Company, president and director;  
 Erie Railroad Company, director;  
 Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, The, director;  
 International Paper Company, director;  
 Inyo Development Company, director;  
 Lackawanna Steel Company, director;  
 Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway Company, The, director;  
 Long Dock Mills and Elevator, director;  
 Manhattan Steamship Company, director;  
 Mergenthaler Linotype Company, director;  
 Metropolitan Trust Company, The, trustee;  
 Mohawk and Malone Railway Company, director;  
 Morton Trust Company, director;  
 National Bank, D. O. Mills & Co. (Sacramento, Cal.), director;  
 New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, director;  
 Niagara Development Company, president and director;  
 Niagara Falls Power Company, The, president and director;  
 Niagara Junction Railway, president and director;  
 North American Commercial Company, vice-president and director;  
 North Atlantic Steamship Company, director;  
 Provident Loan Society of New York, The, trustee;  
 St. Maurice Lumber Company, director;  
 Southern Pacific Company, director;  
 United States Trust Company, trustee;  
 Virginia and Truckee Railroad, president and director; and  
 West Shore Railroad, director.

## C. H. MACKAY:

American Exchange National Bank, director;  
 Canadian Pacific Railway Company, director;  
 Commercial Cable Building Company, president and director;  
 Commercial Cable Company, The, president and director;  
 Commercial Pacific Cable Company, president and director;  
 Federal Sugar Refining Company, vice-president and director;  
 Long Island Motor Parkway (Incorporated), director;  
 Mackay Companies, The, president and trustee;  
 New York Life Insurance Company, trustee;  
 Pacific Postal Telegraph-Cable Company, president and director;  
 Postal Telegraph-Cable Company, president and director;  
 Southern Pacific Company, director; and  
 United States Mortgage and Trust Company, director.

## C. W. MORSE:

Bath Trust Company, director;  
 Boston Insurance Company, director;  
 Butterick Company, first vice-president and director;  
 Century Realty Company, director;  
 Clyde Steamship Company, director;  
 Eastern Steamship Company, director;  
 Fifth Avenue Estates, director;  
 Fourteenth Street Bank, director;  
 Garfield National Bank, vice-president and director;  
 Garfield Safe Deposit Company, trustee;  
 Hudson Navigation Company, director;  
 Lincoln National Bank (Bath, Me.), director;  
 Mallory Steamship Company, director;  
 Mercantile National Bank of the City of New York, The, director;  
 Metropolitan Steamship Company, director;  
 National Bank of North America, The, vice-president and director;  
 New Amsterdam National Bank, vice-president and director;  
 New Amsterdam Safe Deposit Company, vice-president and director;

New York and Cuba Mail Steamship Company, The (Ward Line), director;  
 New York Mortgage and Security Company, director;  
 New York Produce Exchange Bank, director;  
 Title Insurance Company of New York, The, director;  
 Van Norden Trust Company, director;  
 Wall Street Exchange Building Association, vice-president and director; and  
 William Campbell Wall Paper Company, director.

## A. E. ORR:

Associated Merchants' Company, The, director;  
 Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Company, director;  
 Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company, The, director;  
 Continental Insurance Company, director;  
 Delaware and Hudson Company, The, member of board of managers;  
 Erie Railroad Company, director;  
 Federal Insurance Company, director;  
 Fidelity and Casualty Company, The, director;  
 Greenwood Cemetery, trustee;  
 Harper & Brothers, director;  
 Long Island Historical Society, president and director;  
 Mechanics' National Bank, vice-president and director;  
 New York Life Insurance Company, president and trustee;  
 New York Produce Exchange, Safe Deposit and Storage Company, The, trustee;  
 Queen Insurance Company of America, director;  
 Realty Associates, director; and  
 United States Trust Company, trustee.

## OLIVER H. PAYNE:

The American Tobacco Company, director;  
 The Chase National Bank, director;  
 Chihuahua and Pacific Railroad Company, director;  
 The Chihuahua Mining Company, director;  
 Coal Creek Mining and Manufacturing Company, director;  
 Cressus Gold Mining and Milling Company, director;  
 Great Northern Paper Company, director;  
 Havana Tobacco Company, director;  
 Interlake Pulp and Paper Company, director;  
 International Cigar Machinery Company, director;  
 International Railway Company, director;  
 International Traction Company, director;  
 Manhattan Trust Company, director;  
 New York Loan and Improvement Company, vice-president and director;  
 Standard Oil Cloth Company, director; and  
 Virginia and Southeastern Railway Company, director.

## DANIEL G. REID:

American Can Company, director;  
 Astor Trust Company, director;  
 Bankers' Trust Company, director;  
 Chicago and Alton Railroad Company, director;  
 Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad Company, director;  
 Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company, director;  
 Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company, chairman board of directors;  
 Continental Insurance Company, director;  
 Evansville and Indianapolis Railway, vice-president and director;  
 Evansville and Terre Haute Railroad Company, vice-president and director;  
 Guaranty Trust Company of New York, director;  
 Keokuk and Des Moines Railroad Company, vice-president and director;  
 Liberty National Bank, vice-president and director;  
 National Bank of Commerce, Denver, Colo., director;  
 The Rock Island Company, director;  
 St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad Company, director;  
 Second National Bank, Richmond, Ind., director;  
 Union National Bank, Richmond, Ind., director; and  
 United States Steel Corporation, director.

## JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER:

American Linseed Company, director;  
 Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, member board of managers;  
 Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, director;  
 United States Steel Corporation, director; and  
 The University of Chicago, trustee.

## H. H. ROGERS:

Amalgamated Copper Company, president and director;  
 Anaconda Copper Mining Company, vice-president and trustee;  
 Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company, The, director;  
 Atlantic Coast Electric Railway, vice-president and director;  
 Atlas Tack Company, director;  
 Brooklyn Union Gas Company, vice-president and director;  
 Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company, director;  
 Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, The, director;  
 Guaranty Trust Company of New York, director;  
 Mutual Life Insurance Company, of New York, The, trustee;  
 National Bank of Fairhaven, director;  
 National Fuel Gas Company, president and director;  
 National Transit Company, president and director;  
 New Jersey and Staten Island Ferry Company, director;  
 New York Transit Company, president and director;  
 Richmond Light and Railroad Company, president and director;  
 Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, vice-president and director;  
 Staten Island Ferry Company, director;  
 Staten Island Midland Railway Company, director;  
 Tennessee Copper Company, director;  
 Union Pacific Railroad Company, director;  
 United Metals Selling Company, vice-president and director; and  
 United States Steel Corporation, director.

## JAMES SPEYER:

Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, director;  
 Banco Mexicano de Comercio e Industria, director;  
 Central Trust Company of New York, trustee;  
 Citizens' Savings and Trust Company, Cleveland, director;  
 General Chemical Company, director;  
 German Savings Bank, trustee;  
 Girard Trust Company, Philadelphia, member of board of managers;  
 Guaranty Trust Company of New York, director;  
 Industrial Trust Company, Providence, R. I., director;

Lackawanna Steel Company, director;  
 Manhattan Company, director;  
 Maryland Trust Company, Baltimore, director;  
 North British and Mercantile Insurance Company of London and  
 Edinburgh, director in United States;  
 North British and Mercantile Insurance Company of New York, di-  
 rector;  
 Provident Loan Society of New York, The, president and trustee;  
 Rock Island Company, The, director;  
 Societe Financiere Franco-Americaine, The, vice-president and di-  
 rector;  
 Title Guarantee and Trust Company, trustee;  
 Underground Electric Railways Company of London (Limited), The,  
 director; and  
 Union Trust Company of New York, trustee.

## CHARLES STEEL:

Adams Express Company, The, member board of managers;  
 Adams Land and Building Company, director;  
 Alabama Great Southern Railroad Company, director;  
 Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company, The, director;  
 Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, director;  
 Buffalo Creek Railroad, president and director;  
 Central of Georgia Railway Company, director;  
 Central Railroad of New Jersey, The, director;  
 Chicago and Erie Railroad Company, director;  
 Chicago, Indianapolis and Louisville Railway Company, director;  
 Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton Railway Company, director;  
 Erie and Jersey Railroad Company, director;  
 Erie Railroad Company, director;  
 General Electric Company, director;  
 Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe Railway Company, director;  
 International Harvester Company, director;  
 International Mercantile Marine Company, The, director;  
 Lehigh Valley Railroad Company, director;  
 Lehigh Valley Railway Company, The, director;  
 National Storage Company, director;  
 National Tube Company, director;  
 New Jersey and New York Railroad Company, director;  
 New York, Susquehanna and Western Railroad Company, director;  
 New York Telephone Company, director;  
 Northern Pacific Railway Company, director;  
 Pere Marquette Railroad Company, director;  
 Philadelphia and Reading Railway Company, director;  
 Reading Company, director;  
 Santa Fe, Prescott and Phoenix Railway Company, director;  
 Southern Railway Company, director;  
 Standard Trust Company, director;  
 Toledo and Ohio Central Railway Company, director;  
 United States Steel Corporation, director; and  
 Wilkes-Barre and Eastern Railroad Company, The, director.

## CHARLES M. SCHWAB:

Bethlehem Steel Company, director;  
 Bethlehem Steel Corporation, president and board of directors;  
 Carnegie Steel Company, director;  
 Chicago Pneumatic Tool Company, director;  
 Clyde Steamship Company, director;  
 Elgin, Joliet and Eastern Railway Company, director;  
 Empire Trust Company, director;  
 Greenwater Copper Mines and Smelter Company, director;  
 H. C. Frick Coke Company, director;  
 Minnesota Iron Company, director;  
 Montgomery-Shoshone Consolidated Mining Company, director;  
 National Bank of North America, director;  
 National Tube Company, Ohio, director;  
 National Tube Works Company, director; and  
 United States Realty and Improvement Company, director.

## H. M'K. TWOMBLEY:

Buffalo Erie Basin Railroad Company, director;  
 Carthage, Watertown and Sackets Harbor Railroad Company, direc-  
 tor;  
 Central New England Railway Company, director;  
 Central Railroad of New Jersey, The, director;  
 Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company, director;  
 Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company, director;  
 Chicago, Indiana and Southern Railroad, director;  
 Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha Railway Company, direc-  
 tor;  
 Clearfield Bituminous Coal Corporation, director;  
 Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis Railway Company, direc-  
 tor;  
 Columbus, Hope and Greensburg Railroad, director;  
 Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, member  
 board of managers;  
 Detroit and Chicago Railroad Company, director;  
 Detroit River Tunnel Company, director;  
 Dunkirk, Allegheny Valley and Pittsburgh Railroad Company, director;  
 Erie Railroad Company, director;  
 Fall Brook Railway, director;  
 Gouverneur and Oswegatchie Railroad Company, director;  
 Hudson River Bridge Company, director;  
 Lackawanna Steel Company, director;  
 Lake Erie and Western Railroad Company, director;  
 Lake Erie, Alliance and Wheeling Railroad, director;  
 Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway Company, The, director;  
 Lehigh and Wilkes-Barre Coal Company, director;  
 Lehigh Valley Railroad Company, director;  
 Mahoning Coal Railway Company, director;  
 Michigan Central Railroad Company, director;  
 Mohawk and Malone Railroad Company, director;  
 Monongahela Railroad Company, director;  
 New Jersey Shore Line Railroad Company, director;  
 New York and Ottawa Railway Company, director;  
 New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, director;  
 New York Central, Niagara River Railroad Company, director;  
 New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad Company, director;  
 New York Junction Railroad Company, director;  
 New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company, The, direc-  
 tor;  
 New York State Realty and Terminal Company, The, director;  
 Newport Trust Company, director;  
 Niagara Falls Branch Railroad, director;  
 Northern Ohio Railway Company, director;

Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company, director;  
 Philadelphia and Reading Railway Company, director;  
 Pine Creek Railway Company, director;  
 Pittsburgh and Lake Erie Railroad Company, director;  
 Reading Company, director;  
 Rutland Railroad Company, director;  
 St. Lawrence and Adirondack Railway Company, director;  
 Syracuse, Geneva and Corning Railway Company, director;  
 Terminal Railway Company, of Buffalo, director;  
 Tivoli Hollow Railroad, director;  
 Wallkill Valley Railroad Company, director;  
 West Shore Railroad, director; and  
 Western Transit Company, director.

## F. W. VANDERBILT:

American Horse Exchange (Limited), director;  
 Buffalo Erie Basin Railroad Company, director;  
 Canada Southern Bridge Company, director;  
 Canada Southern Railway Company, director;  
 Carthage and Adirondack Railway Company, director;  
 Carthage, Watertown and Sacket Harbor Railroad Company, director;  
 Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company, director;  
 Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha Railway Company, director;  
 Clearfield Bituminous Coal Corporation, director;  
 Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis Railway Company, di-  
 rector;  
 Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, member  
 board of managers;  
 Detroit and Bay City Railroad Company, director;  
 Detroit and Chicago Railroad Company, director;  
 Detroit, Monroe and Toledo Railroad Company, director;  
 Detroit River Tunnel Company, director;  
 Dunkirk, Allegheny Valley and Pittsburgh Railroad Company, director;  
 Elkhart and Western Railroad Company, director;  
 Fort Wayne, Cincinnati and Louisville Railroad Company, director;  
 Gouverneur and Oswegatchie Railroad Company, director;  
 Hudson River Bridge Company, director;  
 Kalamazoo and White Pigeon Railroad Company, director;  
 Lake Erie and Western Railroad Company, director;  
 Lake Erie, Alliance and Wheeling Railroad, director;  
 Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway Company, The, director;  
 Lincoln Safe Deposit Company, The, trustee;  
 Mahoning Coal Railroad Company, director;  
 Michigan Central Railroad Company, director;  
 Mohawk and Malone Railroad Company, director;  
 New Jersey Junction Railroad Company, director;  
 New Jersey Shore Line Railroad Company, director;  
 New York and Harlem Railroad, director;  
 New York and Northern Railway Company, director;  
 New York and Ottawa Railway Company, director;  
 New York and Putnam Railroad Company, director;  
 New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, director;  
 New York Central, Niagara River Railroad Company, director;  
 New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad Company, director;  
 New York State Realty and Terminal Company, director;  
 Niagara Falls Branch Railroad, director;  
 Niagara Grand Island Bridge Company, director;  
 Niagara River Bridge Company, director;  
 Northern Central Michigan Railroad Company, director;  
 Ottawa and New York Railway Company, director;  
 Pittsburgh and Lake Erie Railroad Company, director;  
 Pittsburgh, McKeesport and Youghiogheny Railroad Company, director;  
 Pullman Company, director;  
 Rutland Railroad Company, director;  
 Shenango Valley Railway Company, director;  
 St. Lawrence and Adirondack Railway Company, director;  
 Spuyten Duyvil and Port Morris Railroad Company, director;  
 Sturgis, Goshen and St. Louis Railway Company, director;  
 Swan Creek Railway Company, director;  
 Syracuse, Geneva and Corning Railway Company, director;  
 Terminal Railway of Buffalo, director;  
 Tivoli Hollow Railroad, director;  
 Toledo, Canada Southern and Detroit Railway Company, director;  
 Wallkill Valley Railroad Company, director; and  
 West Shore Railroad Company, director.

## W. K. VANDERBILT:

American Horse Exchange (Limited), president and director;  
 Beech Creek Railroad Company, director;  
 Buffalo Erie Basin Railroad Company, director;  
 Buffalo, Thousand Islands and Portland Railroad, director;  
 Canada Southern Bridge Company, director;  
 Canada Southern Railway Company, director;  
 Carthage and Adirondack Railway Company, director;  
 Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company, director;  
 Carthage, Watertown and Sackets Harbor Railroad Company, director;  
 Chicago, Indiana and Southern Railroad, director;  
 Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and St. Louis Railway Company,  
 director;  
 Chicago and State Line Railroad Company, director;  
 Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis Railway Company,  
 director;  
 Detroit and Bay City Railroad Company, director;  
 Detroit and Chicago Railway Company, director;  
 Detroit, Monroe and Toledo Railroad Company, director;  
 Detroit River Tunnel Company, director;  
 Dunkirk, Allegheny Valley and Pittsburgh Railroad Company, director;  
 Elkhart and Western Railroad Company, director;  
 Fort Wayne, Cincinnati and Louisville Railroad Company, director;  
 Gouverneur and Oswegatchie Railroad Company, director;  
 Hudson River Bridge Company, director;  
 Jersey City and Bayonne Railroad Company, director;  
 Joliet and Northern Indiana Railroad, director;  
 Jackson Coal Railroad Company, director;  
 Kalamazoo and White Pigeon Railroad Company, director;  
 Lake Erie and Western Railroad Company, director;  
 Lake Erie, Alliance and Wheeling Coal Company, director;  
 Lake Erie, Alliance and Wheeling Railroad Company, director;  
 Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway Company, director;  
 Mahoning and Shenango Valley Railroad Company, director;  
 Mahoning Coal Railroad Company, director;  
 Michigan Central Railroad Company, director;  
 Michigan Midland and Canada Railroad Company, director;  
 Mohawk and Malone Railroad Company, director;  
 New Jersey Junction Railroad Company, director;



New Jersey Shore Line Railroad Company, director;  
 New York and Fort Lee Railroad Company, director;  
 New York and Harlem Railroad Company, president and director;  
 New York and Northern Railway Company, director;  
 New York and Ottawa Railway Company, director;  
 New York and Putnam Railroad Company, director;  
 New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, director;  
 New York Central Niagara River Railroad Company, director;  
 New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad Company, director;  
 New York State Realty and Terminal Company, The, director;  
 Niagara Falls Branch Railroad, director;  
 Niagara Grand Island Bridge Company, director;  
 Niagara River Bridge Company, director;  
 Northern Central Michigan Railroad Company, director;  
 Northern Ohio Railway Company, director;  
 Pine Creek Railway, director;  
 Pittsburg and Lake Erie Railroad Company, director;  
 Pittsburg, McKeesport and Youghiogheny Railroad Company, director;  
 Pullman Company, The, director;  
 Rutland Railroad Company, director;  
 St. Clair and Western Railroad Company, director;  
 St. Lawrence and Adirondack Railway Company, director;  
 Shenango Valley Railway Company, director;  
 Spuyten Duyvil and Port Morris Railroad Company, director;  
 Sturgis, Goshen and St. Louis Railway Company, director;  
 Swan Creek Railway Company, director;  
 Syracuse, Geneva and Corning Railway Company, director;  
 Terminal Railway of Buffalo, director;  
 Tivoli Hollow Railroad, director;  
 Toledo, Canada Southern and Detroit Railway Company, director;  
 Toronto, Hamilton and Buffalo Railway Company, director;  
 Wallkill Valley Railroad Company, director;  
 West Shore Railroad, director; and  
 Western Transit Company, director.

## HENRY WALTERS:

Atlanta and West Point Railroad Company, director;  
 Atlantic Coast Line Company, The, chairman board of directors;  
 Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Company, chairman board of directors;  
 Belt Line Railway Company, The (Montgomery, Ala.), director;  
 Charlestown and Western Carolina Railway Company, vice-president and director;  
 Chesapeake Steamship Company, director;  
 Colorado and Southern Railway Company, director;  
 Columbia, Newberry and Laurens Railroad Company, director;  
 Cuba Company, The, director;  
 Fort Worth and Denver City Railway Company, director;  
 Lackawanna Steel Company, director;  
 Louisville and Nashville Railroad Company, chairman board of directors;  
 Milledgeville Railway Company, director;  
 Nashville, Chattanooga and St. Louis Railway Company, director;  
 New York Shipbuilding Company, director;  
 Northern Central Railway Company, director;  
 Northwestern Railroad Company, of South Carolina, director;  
 Old Dominion Steamship Company, director;  
 Richmond-Washington Company, director;  
 Safe Deposit and Trust Company, Baltimore, vice-president and director;  
 Southern Cotton Oil Company, director;  
 Virginia-Carolina Chemical Company, director;  
 Washington Southern Railway Company, director;  
 Western Railway of Alabama, director;  
 Western Union Telegraph Company, The, director; and  
 Wilmington Savings and Trust Company (Wilmington, N. C.), vice-president and director.

## JOHN I. WATERBURY:

Manhattan Trust Company, president and director;  
 Alliance Assurance Company of London, trustee in United States;  
 American Telephone and Telegraph Company, director;  
 Audit Company of New York, The, director;  
 Chase National Bank, The, director;  
 International Mercantile Marine Company, The, director;  
 Louisville and Nashville Railroad Company, director; and  
 Norfolk and Southern Railway Company, director.

## W. S. WEBB:

Addison Railroad, director;  
 Carthage, Watertown and Sackets Harbor Railroad, director;  
 Central Vermont Railway Company, director;  
 City Trust Company, director;  
 Commercial Cable Company, The, director;  
 Fitchburg Railroad Company, director;  
 Fulton Chain Railroad Company, president and director;  
 Fulton Navigation Company, president and director;  
 Honduras Syndicate, director;  
 Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway Company, The, director;  
 Mohawk and Malone Railway Company, director;  
 National Life Insurance Company, director;  
 Pullman Company, The, director;  
 Raquette Lake Railway Company, president and director;  
 Rutland Railroad Company, director;  
 Rutland Transit Company, director; and  
 St. Lawrence and Adirondack Railway Company, director.

## E. F. C. YOUNG:

President and director, Joseph Dixon Crucible Company;  
 A. A. Griffing Iron Company, director;  
 Acker Process Company, vice-president and director;  
 American Graphite Company, president and director;  
 Bankers' Trust Company, director;  
 Bayonne Trust Company, director;  
 Bergen and La Fayette Trust Company, The, director;  
 Bowling Green Trust Company, director;  
 Brooklyn Annex, director;  
 Colonial Life Insurance Company of America, The, first vice-president and director;  
 First National Bank of Jersey City, president and director;  
 Hudson and Manhattan Railroad Company, director;  
 Hudson County Gas Company, president and director;  
 Liberty National Bank, The, director;  
 New Jersey Title Guarantee and Trust Company, first vice-president and director;  
 North Jersey Land Company, president and director;

Pavonia Trust Company, The, president and director;  
 Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York Railroad Company, director;  
 People's Safe Deposit and Trust Company, Jersey City, director;  
 Public Service Corporation of New Jersey, director;  
 Shooter Island Shipyard Company, director;  
 Trust Company of New Jersey, Hoboken, vice-president and director;  
 and  
 West Hudson County Trust Company, Harrison, N. J., director.

## J. O. ARMOUR:

Armour & Co., president and director;  
 Armour Car Lines, director;  
 Armour Grain Company, director;  
 Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company, director;  
 Continental National Bank, director;  
 Fort Worth Stock Yards Company, president and director;  
 G. H. Hammond Company, director;  
 Hammond Packing Company, director;  
 Hutchinson Packing Company, director;  
 National Packing Company, director;  
 Northwestern National Fire Insurance Company, director;  
 Omaha Packing Company, director;  
 Prussian National Insurance Company of Stettin, American trustee;  
 and  
 United States Leather Company, director.

## CHARLES DAWES:

Calumet Insurance Company of Illinois, director.  
 Central Trust Company of Illinois, president and director; and  
 Monroe National Bank, director.

## JAMES H. ECKELS (DECEASED):

Allis-Chalmers Company, director;  
 American Surety Company of New York, director;  
 Audit Company of New York, member western board of control;  
 Bankers' Trust Company, New York City, director;  
 Chicago Union Traction Company, treasurer and director;  
 Commercial National Bank, president and director;  
 Commercial National Safe Deposit Company, director;  
 Hewitt Manufacturing Company, vice-president and director;  
 Lake View Trust and Savings Bank, director;  
 Oakland National Bank, director; and  
 Young Men's Christian Association, of Chicago, The, trustee.

## JAMES B. FORGAN:

American Radiator Company, director;  
 Audit Company of New York, member western board of control;  
 Chicago and Alton Railway Company, The, director;  
 Chicago Title and Trust Company, director;  
 Equitable Life Assurance Company of the United States, The, director;  
 Fidelity and Deposit Company of Maryland, director;  
 First National Bank, president and director;  
 First Trust and Savings Bank, president and director;  
 Guarantee Company of North America, The, director;  
 Metropolitan West Side Elevated Railway Company, The, director;  
 and  
 National Safe Deposit Company, president and director.

## J. J. MITCHELL:

American Surety Company of New York, trustee;  
 Audit Company of New York, The, vice-president, chairman western board of control, and member of advisory committee;  
 Chicago and Alton Railway Company, director;  
 Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad Company, director;  
 Chicago Edison Company, director;  
 Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company, director;  
 Commonwealth Electric Company, director;  
 Economy Light and Power Company of Joliet, director;  
 First National Bank of New York, director;  
 Illinois Trust and Savings Bank, president and director;  
 Illinois Trust and Safety Deposit Company, director;  
 Kansas City Southern Railway Company, director;  
 Lackawanna Steel Company, director;  
 New York Trust Company of New York, director;  
 Northwestern Elevated Railroad Company, voting trustee;  
 Frank Parmelee Company, The, director;  
 Pullman Company, The, director;  
 Rock Island Company, director;  
 Union Elevated Railroad Company, director;  
 United States Brewing Company of Chicago, director; and  
 Western Union Telegraph Company, director.

## NORMAN B. BEAM:

American Trust and Savings Bank, The, director;  
 Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, director;  
 Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company, Brooklyn, director;  
 Central Safety Deposit Company, vice-president and director;  
 Chicago and Alton Railway Company, director;  
 Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad Company, director;  
 Chicago Union Transfer Railway Company, director;  
 Colorado and Southern Railway Company, director;  
 Erie Railroad Company, director;  
 First National Bank of Chicago, director;  
 First Trust and Savings Bank, director;  
 Guaranty Trust Company, New York, director;  
 International Harvester Company, director;  
 Metropolitan Trust Company, director;  
 Mount Hope Cemetery Association, director;  
 National Biscuit Company, director;  
 National Safe Deposit Company, director;  
 New York Life Insurance Company, trustee;  
 New York Trust Company, director;  
 Pere Marquette Railroad Company, director;  
 Pullman Company, The, director;  
 Reliance Company, The, director;  
 Seaboard Air Line System, director;  
 Securities Company, director; and  
 United States Steel Corporation, director.

## L. F. SWIFT:

Hollis Cold Storage Company, director;  
 Illinois Cattle Company, director;  
 Libby, McNeill & Libby, director;  
 Mechanical Manufacturing Company, president and director;  
 National Bank of the Republic, director;  
 National Leather Company, director;

National Packing Company, director;  
North Packing and Provision Company, director;  
St. Louis National Stock Yards Company, director;  
South San Francisco Land and Improvement Company, president and director;

Springfield Provision Company, director;  
State Bank of Lake Forest, Ill., director;  
Stock Yards Bank, East St. Louis, director;  
Stock Yards Savings Bank, Chicago, director;  
Swift & Co., president and director;  
Swift Fertilizer Works, director; and  
Western Meat Company, president and director.

#### OLIVER AMES:

American Bonding Company, of Baltimore, member advisory board;  
Ames Plow Company, president and director;  
Ames Shovel and Tool Company, director;  
Ames Shovel and Tool Company of Texas, vice-president and director;  
Cabot Manufacturing Company, director;  
Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company, director;  
Easton Investment Company, vice-president, director, and treasurer;  
Electric Corporation, director;  
First National Bank of Easton, Mass., vice-president and director;  
Fisher Manufacturing Company, president and director;  
General Electric Company, director;  
H. M. Myers Company, The, director;  
Kinsley Iron and Machine Company, president and director;  
Mercantile Trust Company of New York, director;  
Metropolitan Storage Warehouse Company, president and director;  
Mutual District Messenger Company of Boston, director;  
National Shawmut Bank, director;  
North Easton Savings Bank, trustee;  
Old Colony Trust Company, director;  
Oliver Ames & Sons Corporation, vice-president, treasurer, and director;

Oregon Short Line Railroad Company, director;  
Provident Institution for Savings, trustee;  
St. Louis Shovel Company, director;  
Security Safe Deposit Company, director;  
Union Copper Mining Company, president and director;  
Union Pacific Railroad Company, director;  
Washington Mills Emery Manufacturing Company, president and director;  
Western Union Telegraph Company, director; and  
Wright Shovel Company, vice-president and director.

#### T. JEFFERSON COOLIDGE:

American Bell Telephone Company, director;  
American Trust Company, president and director;  
American Telephone and Telegraph Company, director;  
Bay State Trust Company, president and director;  
Boston Elevated Railway Company, director;  
Edison Electric Illuminating Company, of Boston, director;  
General Electric Company, director;  
Georgia Railway and Electric Company, director;  
Lawrence Manufacturing Company, director;  
National Bank of Commerce, vice-president and director;  
Old Colony Trust Company, chairman of directors;  
Seaboard Air Line Railway, voting trustee and director;  
Suffolk Savings Bank for Seamen and Others, trustee;  
Underground Electric Railways Company, of London (Limited), director; and  
Western Telephone and Telegraph Company, director.

#### H. L. HIGGINSON:

American Smelting and Refining Company, director;  
American Writing Paper Company, vice-president and director;  
Campobello Island Company, director;  
Eastern Audit Company, director;  
Ganley Coal Land Company, president and director;  
General Electric Company, director;  
Granby Consolidated Mining, Smelting and Power Company (Limited), director;  
National Shawmut Bank, director;  
New Boston Music Hall, president and director;  
New England Exploration Company, director;  
Provident Institution for Savings, vice-president and trustee;  
Smuggler Union Mining Company, vice-president and director;  
Submarine Signal Company, president and director; and  
Worcester, Nashua and Rochester Railway Company, director;

#### NATHANIEL THAYER:

American Bell Telephone Company, director;  
American Telephone and Telegraph Company, director;  
Bay State Trust Company, director;  
Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yards Company, vice-president and director;  
City Trust Company, director;  
Cushing Real Estate Trust, trustee;  
Eastern Kentucky Railway Company, president and director;  
Guarantee Company of North America, The, director;  
Hamilton Woolen Company, president and director;  
Kansas City Stock Yards Company of Missouri, director;  
Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, director;  
Merchants' National Bank, director;  
Municipal Real Estate Trust, trustee;  
New England Trust Company, director;  
New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad, director;  
Old Colony Railroad Company, director;  
Old Colony Steamboat Company, director;  
Old Colony Trust Company, director;  
Pere Marquette Railroad Company, director;  
St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad Company, director;  
St. Marys Mineral Land Company, president and director;  
Suffolk Savings Bank for Seamen and Others, trustee; and  
United States Steel Company, director.

#### THOMAS DOLAN:

The United Gas Improvement Company, president;  
Fidelity Trust Company, director;  
Finance Company of Pennsylvania, director;  
The Electric Storage Battery Company, director;  
Philadelphia Electric Company, director;  
Cresson and Clearfield Coal and Coke Company, director; and  
Welsbach Company, director.

#### P. A. B. WIDENER:

Cresson and Clearfield Coal and Coke Company, vice-president and director;  
Land Title and Trust Company, director;  
The Electric Storage Battery Company, director;  
Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company, director;  
Philadelphia Traction Company, director; and  
Union Traction Company, director.

#### E. H. GARY:

United States Steel Corporation, chairman;  
American Land Company, director;  
Pittsburg, Bessemer and Lake Erie Railroad Company, director;  
Carnegie Steel Company, director;  
American Steel and Wire Company of New Jersey, director; and  
National Tube Company, director.

#### SAMUEL REA:

Allegheny Heating Company, acting vice-president;  
Allegheny Valley Railway Company, vice-president; and  
Chartiers Railway Company, director.

#### A. J. CASSATT (DECEASED):

The Pennsylvania Railroad Company, president and director;  
Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington Railroad Company, president and director;  
The Northern Central Railway Company, president;  
West Jersey and Seashore Railroad Company, president and director;  
The Philadelphia National Bank, director;  
Commercial Trust Company, director;  
Fidelity Trust Company, director;  
The Western Saving Fund Society of Philadelphia, manager;  
The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, director;  
Manhattan Trust Company (New York), director; and  
Mercantile Trust Company (New York), director.

#### E. B. MORRIS:

Girard Trust Company, president and manager;  
The Philadelphia Savings Fund Society, manager;  
The Philadelphia National Bank, director;  
Franklin National Bank, director;  
Fourth Street National Bank, director;  
Pennsylvania Fire Insurance Company, director;  
The Mutual Assurance Company, trustee;  
Commercial Trust Company, director;  
The Pennsylvania Railroad Company, director;  
Pennsylvania Company (Western lines of Pennsylvania Railroad), director;  
Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad Company, director.

The Pennsylvania Steel Company, director;  
Maryland Steel Company, director;  
Spanish-American Iron Company, director;  
Cambria Steel Company, chairman and director;  
Cambria Iron Company, director;  
Mahoning Ore and Steel Company;  
Latrobe Steel and Coupler Company, director;  
The Keystone Watch Case Company, director;  
Penn Traffic Company, director;  
Estate of Anthony J. Drexel, trustee;  
Estate of Asa Packer, trustee;  
Estate of William Bingham, trustee; and  
Estate of John Gilber, trustee.

#### JOHN S. KENNEDY:

Albany and Susquehanna Railroad, director;  
Central Trust Company, trustee;  
Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railway Company, director;  
Cleveland and Pittsburg Railroad Company, director;  
Hudson Trust Company of New Jersey, director;  
Manhattan Company, director;  
New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad Company, director;  
Northern Pacific Railway Company, director;  
Northern Securities Company, vice-president and director;  
Provident Loan Society of New York, The, trustee;  
Title Guarantee and Trust Company, The, trustee; and  
United States Trust Company, trustee.

#### WILLIAM G. ROCKEFELLER:

Brooklyn Union Gas Company, director;  
Columbia Bank, director;  
Lincoln National Bank of the City of New York, director;  
National Fuel Gas Company, director;  
New York Transit Company, director; and  
Union Pacific Railroad Company, director.

#### DUMONT CLARKE:

American Exchange National Bank, president and director;  
Adams Express Company, member board of managers;  
Algoma Central and Hudson Bay Railway, director;  
American Beet Sugar Company, director;  
American Felt Company, director;  
Audit Company of New York, The, director;  
Caledonia Insurance Company, Edinburgh, trustee;  
Commercial Cable Company, The, director;  
Commercial Cable Company of Cuba, director;  
Delaware and Hudson Company, The, member of board of managers;  
Federal Sugar Refining Company, treasurer and director;  
Fidelity and Casualty Company, The, director;  
Home Insurance Company, director;  
Lake Superior Corporation, The, director;  
Lawyers' Title Insurance and Trust Company, The, director;  
Little Falls and Dolgeville Railroad, director;  
Long Island Consolidated Electrical Companies, The, director;  
Long Island Railroad Company, director;  
Mackay Companies, The, trustee;  
Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, The, trustee;  
New York, Brooklyn and Manhattan Beach Railway Company, director;  
New York Clearing-House Building Company, director;  
Norfolk and Southern Railway Company, director;  
Orange National Bank, director;  
Press Publishing Company, trustee;  
Swift & Co., director;  
United States Mortgage and Trust Company, director;  
United States Safe Deposit Company, director;



Vacuum Cleaner Company, director; and  
Washington Life Insurance Company, The, director.

W. A. CLARK:

American Stone Company, president and director;  
Black Butte Coal Mining Company, president and director;  
Butte Electric Railway Company, president and director;  
Clark Coal Company, president and director;  
Clark-Montana Realty Company, president and director;  
Colusa-Parrot Mining and Smelting Company, president and director;  
Empire Cattle Company, president and director;  
Henry Bonnard Bronze Company, vice-president and director;  
Herald Publishing Company (Salt Lake City), president and director;  
John Caplice Company, director;  
Las Vegas and Tonopah Railroad Company, director;  
Los Alamitos Sugar Company, president and director;  
Los Cerritos Company, president and director;  
Mayflower Consolidated Mining Company, director;  
Mayflower Mining Company, president and director;  
Miner Publishing Company (Butte, Mont.), director;  
Missoula Light and Water Company, director;  
Missouri River Power Company, director;  
Montana Hardware Company, director;  
Montana Land Company, president and director;  
Moulton Mining Company, president and director;  
Natural Mineral Water Company, president and director;  
Nevada First National Bank of Tonopah, director;  
Ophir Hill Consolidated Mining Company, president and director;  
Original Consolidated Mining Company, president and director;  
Pyrenees Gold and Silver Company, president and director;  
San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad, president and director;  
Sunset Mining Company, president and director;  
T. F. Miller Company (Jerome, Ariz.), director;  
United Verde and Pacific Railway Company, president and director;  
United Verde Copper Company, president and director;  
Utah Realty Company, director;  
W. A. Clark & Bro., president and director;  
W. A. Clark Realty Company, president and director;  
W. A. Clark Wire Company, president and director;  
West Mayflower Mining Company, director;  
Western Lumber Company, president and director; and  
Western Montana Flouring Company, president and director.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. The twenty-three directors of the National City Bank, the head of the Standard Oil group, and the directors of the National Bank of Commerce, thirty-nine in number, hold 1,007 directorships on the great transportation, industrial, and commercial institutions of this country.

Let me go a step further with respect to the Standard Oil bank in order to show how this mighty power that dominates the life of the American people to-day—and I will ultimately show its relation to the bill which has been reported here—notwithstanding the dexterous withdrawal of the proposition to incorporate railroad bonds into our currency system—

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Rhode Island?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I certainly do.

Mr. ALDRICH. I, of course, do not like to take up the time of the Senator from Wisconsin, but he may not be aware of the fact, and therefore I think perhaps I had better make the suggestion at this time. Among the first suggestions of opposition to this bill and the most earnest objection was that made by the National City Bank, of the city of New York, and Mr. Vanderlip, its vice-president, did at that time and has continuously since opposed the measure. This measure is opposed not only by the National City Bank of New York, but by all the banks in the city of New York.

I have before me, received this morning, a statement made by the chairman of the New York Clearing-House Association, saying it is better to have no legislation at all than to pass this bill, and stating the reasons why we should have a currency based upon the assets of the banks, and the reasons why he is in favor of a bill that is pending elsewhere. I know of no bank or bank man who is in favor of this bill. The fact is that the banks throughout the country are against it; and the Senator from Wisconsin has studied this situation to little effect if he has not found that out.

#### POWERS BEHIND THE LEGISLATION.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I will inquire of the chairman of the Finance Committee what is the position of Mr. Morgan upon this proposition?

Mr. ALDRICH. I do not know what Mr. Morgan's position is, but I do know that Mr. Morgan is a man of wide experience, a man of patriotism and of wise judgment, and I should feel highly gratified if I thought Mr. Morgan approved this bill in all its features.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, perhaps in some indirect way the chairman of the Committee on Finance will be able to find out where Mr. Morgan stands. But his beaming countenance from the galleries of this Chamber while the Senator from Rhode Island was making his speech would rather indicate that Mr. Morgan, the head of one of these great groups, was not entirely adverse to the propositions embraced in this bill.

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield further to the Senator from Rhode Island?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I do.

Mr. ALDRICH. I suppose the Senator from Wisconsin and every other Senator will agree with me that this proposition should be discussed upon its merits and be judged by what it is and what it proposes to do and not by the opinion of Mr. Morgan or anybody else as to the bill.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Let me say to the Senator from Rhode Island that you can not always tell the merits of a proposition solely from the printed lines. I shall show before I have finished that the withdrawal of the railroad-bond feature of this bill throws a flood of light over the intent and purpose of this legislation.

Let me say to the Senator from Rhode Island, further, that it is not impossible to conceive that this great organization which is controlling the industrial and commercial life of the American people, which is engineered and directed by the best intellects in America, might put out here and there newspaper interviews to make it appear if possible that there is no organized power behind this legislation.

I do not know Mr. Vanderlip, to whom attention has been called by the Senator from Rhode Island. He may be a most eminently fair man. I do know that he has given public expression to the fact that he is not in accord with this legislation. I do know that he is vice-president of the National City Bank. I do know that he is in favor of a central bank, and I do know that some other men connected with these great institutions are. Mr. President, there might be a choice. I can conceive that there may be more than one way in which the organized money power of this country can be strengthened. A central-bank system might be quite as useful, perhaps more useful, than the legislation proposed by this bill.

But I think the Senator from Rhode Island will have to do more than cite a few names to disprove the evidence which I shall present before I conclude showing that these few men whom I have named dominate and control the business and industrial life of this country against the interest of the great mass of the people, and that the effect of this legislation, if enacted, will be to build up and strengthen and fortify this mighty power at the expense of the people.

#### CONNECTIONS OF NATIONAL CITY DIRECTORS.

But let me revert to the directorate of the National City Bank, remembering that there are twenty-three directors.

Fourteen of the directors of the National City Bank are at the head of fourteen great combinations representing 38 per cent of the capitalization of all the industrial trusts of the country.

The railroad lines represented on the board of this one bank cover the country like a network. Chief among them are the Lackawanna, the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, the Union Pacific, the Alton, the Missouri Pacific, the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, the Chicago and Northwestern, the Rock Island, the Denver and Rio Grande, the Mexican National, the Baltimore and Ohio, the Northern Pacific, the New York Central, the Texas and Pacific, the Erie, the New York, New Haven and Hartford, the Delaware and Hudson, the Illinois Central, the Manhattan Elevated of New York City, and the rapid-transit lines of Brooklyn. These same twenty-three directors, through their various connections, represent more than 350 other banks, trust companies, railroads, and industrial corporations, with an aggregate capitalization of more than twelve thousand million dollars.

That is a part only of what is behind the directorate of the National City Bank of New York, the head of only one of these groups.

#### RESERVES ARE MASSED IN NEW YORK.

It was inevitable that this massing of banking power should attract to itself the resources of other banks throughout the country. Capital attracts capital. It inspires confidence. It appeals to the imagination. Added to this the forces back of these controlling groups could offer tempting interest rates and, finally, the Federal legislation would almost seem to have been enacted to augment this power.

The law providing that 15 per cent of the deposits of a country bank should be held for the protection of its depositors conveniently permits three-fifths of the amount to be deposited in reserve city banks, and of the 25 per cent of reserve for the protection of depositors in reserve city banks one-half may be deposited with central reserve city banks. As there are but three central reserve cities, one of which, of course, is New York City, the alluring interest rates which these all-powerful groups

could offer inevitably tended to draw the great proportion of lawful reserves subject to transfer from the country and reserve banks.

Consider the number of country banks for which these larger banks are the approved reserve agents, and the way the system has been worked to gather up the money of the country by these big group banks can be understood. One Standard Oil bank is approved agent to receive deposits of lawful money reserves from 1,071 national banks scattered over the country. Another bank of the same group receives reserve deposits from 1,802 country banks, and another from 478. A leading Morgan group bank receives deposits from 909 outside banks, and another from 615, and still another from 1,233.

The system has been operated to gather constantly increasing millions, belonging to the depositors of other banks throughout the country, into the great national banks of New York.

In 1896 the Treasury Department began publishing the abstract of the condition of national banks in circular form five times a year. This statement shows the amounts due from the national banks of New York City to the other financial institutions of the country. From the date of the first circular, December 17, 1896, to the last report, February 14, 1908, the net balance due from New York City national banks to other national banks of the country had increased from \$115,756,274 to \$232,960,362, an increase of \$117,204,088, or more than 100 per cent.

The power which the New York banks derive through these vast accumulations of the resources of other national banks strengthen their position so that they could draw in the surplus money of all the other financial institutions of the country, State, private, and savings banks and trust companies. The growth in the net balance due these institutions from the New York national banks in recent years is even more astounding than the increase of their deposits from the other national banks. Beginning with \$58,461,256 in 1896, it grew to \$227,088,130 in 1908, almost a fourfold increase. The net balance which the national banks of New York owed all the other financial institutions of the country increased in the same period of time from \$174,217,530 to \$460,048,493.

On August 22, 1907, the last call before the panic, the New York banks owed the other banks of the country a net balance of over \$410,000,000. The report for December 3 shows a reduction of the balance to about three hundred and eighty-eight and a half million. With all the pressure that they could bring to bear on New York national banks, the other banks of the country were unable to withdraw in time of great need more than about twenty and a half millions, or about 5 per cent of their deposits in New York. They would have been unable to withdraw even this amount had not the Treasury increased United States deposits in the national banks of New York during this period over \$47,000,000.

#### EVIDENCE OF SPECULATION BY BANKS.

The ability of these group banks of New York through their connected interests to engage in underwriting, to finance promotion schemes, where the profits resulting from overcapitalization represent hundreds of millions of dollars, places them beyond let or hindrance from competitors elsewhere in the country. Their ability to take advantage of conditions in Wall street, even if they did not create these conditions, forcing interest rates on call loans as high as 150 per cent, would enable them to command, almost at will, the capital of the country for these speculative purposes.

But one result could follow. Floating the stocks and bonds in overcapitalized transportation, traction, mining, and industrial organizations does not create wealth, but it does absorb capital. Through the agency of these great groups hundreds of millions of dollars of the wealth of the country have been tied up. Other hundreds of millions have been drawn upon to supply these great speculating groups in their steadily increasing Wall street business.

Direct evidence of the speculative character of banking in Wall street, not only by those houses which are familiarly recognized as speculative houses, but of the speculative banking which is done by national banks, is contained in the testimony of George S. Baker, president of the First National Bank of New York City, which was given before the Armstrong committee September 14, 1905. I shall refer to the banking connections of Mr. Baker later. The Armstrong committee secured the testimony of Mr. Baker for the reason that he was at that time a member of the directorate of the Mutual Life Insurance Company and of the finance committee of that organization. He was at the same time president and a member of the board of directors of the First National Bank of New York City.

I have traced this afternoon in what I have had to say the centralization of the industrial, transportation, and commercial

business of the country. I have shown its relation to bank concentration. Now, Mr. President, I shall show from official records the relation of the control of these great banks to speculation in Wall street.

I quote from Mr. Baker's testimony, beginning on page 624 of the Armstrong report:

Q. Now, Mr. Baker, we all appreciate your position in the community and the value of your opinion on such matters as these, and we would be very glad to hear what you have to say as to the advisability of an insurance company going into syndicate operations.—A. Well, it generally enables the insurance company to get bonds at a cheaper price than it otherwise could.

Q. That would be the only justification?—A. I think that is the only thing that occurs to my mind now.

Q. Is it necessary for an insurance company, with the funds at its command to such an extent as the Mutual Life Insurance Company, to take bonds through syndicates? Couldn't it get them directly at ground-floor prices?—A. I don't believe they could, sir.

Q. Suppose it were known that the Mutual Life and the Equitable Life and the New York Life would take bonds directly from the railroad companies that wanted to borrow money, don't you suppose they could get as advantageous a price as they could through any banking house?—A. If it was a small issue, I think they could; but the recent issues you were speaking of—the Pennsylvania three-hundred-million loan—those three companies wouldn't want to take so large a block as the bankers could take.

Q. And, of course, if the bankers undertook the flotation they would want to control the entire issue?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And it would be to the interests of the railroad company to make an arrangement satisfactory to the bankers?—A. They always seem to think so.

Q. The effect would be that the bankers would get the control of the issue, and then to get in, the insurance companies would have to deal with the bankers?—A. Practically.

It is to be borne in mind that in this transaction the bank controls the bond syndicate. It is to be borne in mind that the bank president of the national bank is also one of the finance committee of the insurance company to be dealt with.

Q. That is about the way it usually is, isn't it?—A. Yes, sir. And the bankers generally let the insurance companies in on what might be called the hardpan business.

Q. They let them in if there is an original syndicate, afterwards a purchasing syndicate on the original syndicate basis?—A. That is a thing governed by the banks.

They might let them in and they might not. They are trading with themselves. The bankers are running this syndicate to get the profit out of it. They are on the official boards of the insurance companies with which they are dealing.

Q. The bankers consider it will help the flotation if institutions having a reputation for conservatism would help the thing by taking a large block?—A. I don't think they would let them in if they didn't.

The whole transaction is shown to be, by the admissions of this witness, one of which self-interest is the controlling thing; and remember, Mr. President, that this witness is one of the custodians of the funds of a great national bank. He was asked by the examiner whether the relation of the Mutual Life Insurance Company to the matter did not enter into his thoughts at all. His answer was, "Not in the slightest degree."

To quote further from the testimony:

Q. In other words, it is an aid to the flotation to have a subscription from an insurance company, isn't it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It is a large help to the dealings between the bankers and other investors; it helps them on the public offerings?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And then, when they are put on the public offerings and the insurance companies buy at the issue price, that is a great help to the market, isn't it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, the question has been mooted of late, although it apparently a little while back didn't receive any attention, as to the participation of those who deal with the mutual life insurance companies and re-funds of other companies in syndicate operations that sell for their own benefit. You have heard practically the question that I have put to the other gentlemen upon the stand. Have you been a participator yourself in the syndicate?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In syndicates in which the Mutual Life was also a participator?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did that in any way affect your judgment on any matter coming before you as a trustee of the Mutual Life?—A. Well, that came to me entirely through my business with the First National Bank, and never had any connections, either directly or indirectly, in any way, shape, or manner, with the Mutual Life.

Q. I see. You, as an officer of the First National Bank, were in a position to know of the syndicates and to get opportunities in syndicates?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the relation of the Mutual Life Insurance Company to the matter didn't enter into your thought at all?—A. Not to the slightest degree.

Q. At the same time the fact remained that you and the Mutual Life Insurance Company were participators in several syndicates together?—A. I presume that is the fact.

Mr. Baker later furnished a list of the syndicates in which he personally participated, and in which also the Mutual Life Insurance Company was a participant. The value of this testimony lies in the fact that it gives clear and unmistakable proof that the First National Bank was in the speculative market. It is followed immediately in the Armstrong report by the testimony of Frederick Cromwell, the treasurer of the Mutual Life Insurance Company. He says:

You were asking me, Mr. Hughes—I heard you asking them, and I think you did me—whether it was necessary to buy bonds of these



syndicates or whether we could not buy them from the railroad company. I think it is wise for me to say this—perhaps it is saying too much—that a few years ago I was convinced that we could buy of the railroad company. We had a peculiar relation with some of them, and were large stockholders, but I found it impossible. I might as well mention one instance. I went to my personal friend, Mr. Stuyvesant Fish. We had at that time four of their directors on our board. I said to Mr. Fish, "See here; this thing can not go along any further; it is time for us to buy our bonds of you directly—"

Q. You are talking now of the Illinois Central?—A. Yes; the Illinois Central, and he said he could not afford to sell the Mutual Life bonds, and I could see the justice of his remark when he explained it, that it was a necessity for his railroad to do their business through banks en bloc, it could not afford to take them to single buyers, and he must keep up his associations with the bank.

Q. So the railroads must keep in with the banks in order to float their bonds?—A. They have to; yes, sir.

Q. And the insurance companies must keep in with the banks in order to get the investments they want at low prices?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. So the banks control the situation?—A. There is no question about it. I went once to the St. Paul Railroad and remonstrated very much because they had made an issue and did not let me know first, and I got a reply which was not at all satisfactory. You can understand their reasons. I can, at any rate. And I say that to defend my statement that we had to buy through the syndicate.

Q. What do you think their reason is?—A. To keep a market for the bonds. An attempt was made two or three years ago by the Pennsylvania Railroad to make a large flotation through its stockholders, and there never was, for its size, such a lamentable failure, and they went around with their hats in their hands to Kuhn, Loeb & Co. and Speyer & Co., and they put the enterprise through.

Mr. Baker's and Mr. Cromwell's apparent innocence of anything wrong in these transactions is perhaps more significant than the transactions themselves. The absence of any sense of business responsibility or of business integrity is more appalling than conscious and willful violation of the business standards of honorable men.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Will it interrupt the Senator to ask him a question?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Indiana?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Oh, certainly.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Purely for information, as the Senator knows. Is it the Senator's position that the national banks ought not to be permitted to invest in any securities at all?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I am attempting, let me say to the Senator from Indiana, to present to the Senate the conditions actually as they exist—what the remedies may be is a matter for further discussion. I believe that the evidence is overwhelming of the connection of certain great bank groups, in which the greatest national banks of this country are a dominant power, with industrial and transportation combinations, the securities of which under this bill were to be made a basis of issuing circulating notes. I believe that the development of these connections and this relationship is a very important matter in the consideration of this legislation. Surely a national bank ought not to be allowed to underwrite or invest in securities of corporations in which the officers and directors of the bank are primarily interested and when the transactions are primarily for the benefit of such officers and directors, or others who may control them, and not for the benefit of stockholders or depositors of the bank.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I shall not interrupt the Senator further. He is making a very lucid and powerful statement upon precisely the point he makes. The question did occur to my mind right in that connection, because it is a subject of considerable dispute as to whether banks ought to be permitted to invest in these securities at all, on the one hand, or whether, upon the other hand, they should be confined to receiving deposits and loaning them. I merely wanted to ask the Senator as to whether he had arrived at any conclusion at all on that point, and then I would follow it up by one or two other questions. But I will not interrupt the Senator. I will let the Senator go on with his statement.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I will say that the question suggested by the Senator will receive some further attention later on in my remarks.

Mr. President, the relationship between the legislation pending and the discussion which I am attempting to make focuses itself just at this point, that the control of these great banks is in the hands of these men who are interested in a speculative way in corporate securities and who, at the same time, are the custodians of the deposits, not only of individual depositors, but the deposits of reserve money of the banks all over the country.

#### BANKERS IN THE ALTON DEAL.

The Chicago and Alton deal is an instance of the participation by the men in charge of New York's great financial and trust institutions in Wall street flotation and stock-jobbing schemes. In that instance Mr. Harriman, as stated in his testimony a year ago before the Interstate Commerce Commission, got together three New York bank officers and directors,

Mr. Mortimer Schiff, Mr. George J. Gould, and Mr. James Stillman, and organized a syndicate to acquire the stock of the Chicago and Alton Railroad.

Mr. Mortimer Schiff, of the firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., was a director of the Mercantile Trust Company, of the Provident Loan Association, and the United States Loan and Trust Company, one of the principal Standard Oil financial institutions. George J. Gould, the director of the National Bank of Commerce, the great Morgan institution, and James Stillman, the financier of the Standard Oil institutions, the president of the National City and the director of the Bank of the Metropolis, Bowery Savings Bank, Columbia Park, Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, the Fidelity Bank, the Fifth Avenue Safe Deposit Company, the Hanover National Bank, the Lincoln National Bank, the National Butchers and Drovers' Bank, the New York Trust Company, the Riggs National Bank of Washington, the Second National Bank of New York, and a member of the clearing house committee of the New York Clearing House Association. These, with Mr. Harriman, were members of a syndicate.

The syndicate was successful, and these gentlemen became, in the words of Mr. Harriman, "The Chicago and Alton Railroad." When they got control of the property the capital stock was \$22,000,000 and bonded debt about eight and a half millions. They mortgaged the property and issued about \$40,000,000 of bonds. As officers of the Chicago and Alton Railroad they sold these bonds to themselves at 65 cents on the dollar. Then as individuals they turned about and sold the bonds at a profit of about \$300 apiece, principally to insurance companies and trust institutions which they controlled. Of the amount realized to the Chicago and Alton Railroad Company on the sale of the bonds Messrs. Harriman, Stillman et al. paid about seven millions to themselves, under the name of a 30 per cent dividend to stockholders.

Mr. Harriman sought to justify these operations before the Commission by pointing out that the previous management had made extensive improvements out of income. I quote from the testimony:

Mr. KELLOGG. Is it not a fact that from year to year, during the management of the prior Chicago and Alton, whatever had been charged against its income and spent upon the road had been closed each year by the board of directors?

Mr. HARRIMAN. I presume so, but under the former management the Chicago and Alton was drying up very fast, and so was the railroad itself.

Mr. KELLOGG. It certainly has not dried up since.

Mr. HARRIMAN. No, sir; it has not.

Mr. KELLOGG. There was water enough to satisfy anybody.

Mr. HARRIMAN. Yes; and business enough to satisfy.

Mr. KELLOGG. Would you think distributing \$6,660,000 as a 30 per cent dividend to the stockholders, who had already had 8 per cent, would prevent it from drying up?

Mr. HARRIMAN. Combined with the other methods of financing which were adopted by the Chicago and Alton; yes.

The bonds issued out of these nefarious manipulations were made eligible for deposit to secure Government deposits.

Although the railroad-bond proposition has disappeared for the time being, I pause just a moment to repeat that the bonds growing out of these nefarious manipulations are not only eligible but large amounts of them have been accepted and placed in the Treasury to secure deposits of Government money. They are first-mortgage bonds, legal for savings bank investment in New York and Massachusetts. They would be eligible to secure circulation under this bill, as the bill stood and was contended for by its friends up to almost the present moment, as soon as the dividends could be fixed up. They are first-mortgage bonds at the rate of about \$85,000 per mile, or about three times the average value of railroad property in the country.

#### FINANCIAL BANKING SUPPLANTING COMMERCIAL BANKING.

The plain truth is that legitimate commercial banking is being eaten up by financial banking. The greatest banks of the financial center of the country have ceased to be agents of commerce and have become primarily agencies of promotion and speculation. By merging the largest banks, trust companies, and insurance companies masses of capital have been brought under one management, to be employed not as the servant of commerce, but as its master; not to supply legitimate business and to facilitate exchange, but to subordinate the commercial demands of the country upon the banks to call loans in Wall street and to finance industrial organizations, always speculative, and often unlawful in character. Trained men, who a dozen years ago stood first among the bankers of the world as heads of the greatest banks of New York City, are, in the main, either displaced or do the bidding of men who are not bankers, but masters of organization.

The banks which were then managed by bankers as inde-

pendent commercial institutions are now owned in groups by a few men, whose principal interests are in railroads, traction, telegraph, cable, shipping, iron and steel, copper, coal, oil, gas, insurance, etc.

This subversion of banking by alliance with promotion and stock speculation is easily traced.

There was every inducement for those who controlled transportation and a few great basic industries to achieve control of money in the financial center of the country.

The centralization of the banking power in New York City would not only open the way for financing the reorganization and consolidation of industrial enterprises and of public utilities throughout the country, but would place those in authority where they could control the markets on stocks and bonds almost at will.

With this enormous concentration of business it is possible to create, artificially, periods of prosperity and periods of panic. Prices can be lowered or advanced at the will of the "System." When the farmer must move his crops a scarcity of money may be created and prices lowered. When the crop passes into the control of the speculator the artificial stringency may be relieved and prices advanced, and the illegitimate profit raked off the agricultural industry may be pocketed in Wall street.

If an effort is made to compel any one of these great "Interests" to obey the law, it is easy for them to enter into a conspiracy to destroy whoever may be responsible for the undertaking.

#### STORY OF THE PANIC.

I have placed before you the record evidence that less than one hundred men own and control railroads, traction, shipping, cable, telegraph, telephone, express, mining, coal, oil, gas, electric light, copper, cotton, sugar, tobacco, agricultural implements, and the food products, as well as banking and insurance. Does anyone question the overcapitalization of these consolidated corporations which cover the business of the country? Does anyone doubt the community of interest that binds these men together? Does anyone question their vital interest in maintaining their overcapitalization and protecting their stocks and bonds? Does anyone doubt their hostility to the declared policies of President Roosevelt, and the progressive movement throughout the country, and their readiness, nay, their determination, to make an end of it at any cost? Was this not made abundantly manifest during the summer of 1907? The White House was not far wrong when it gave out the information that a great fund had been pledged to block any third-term possibility.

To get the true perspective of more recent events, let us go back a little. If we would find the underlying cause for the convulsions that have taken place on the stock exchange, culminating in this demand for emergency currency and the acceptance of railway bonds as a basis for currency issue, follow the operations of these men and the great groups they have formed as traced in Wall street for the last three years. It is a blending of the control of business and legislation and politics.

In 1904 these financial groups joined in a big bull movement upon the stock markets. They had forced expansion in business everywhere. Their reorganization schemes had been repeated until the trading public was intoxicated with speculation. None of the sensational disclosures through investigations by committees and departments through the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the courts had yet taken place. Expansion was in the air. It was "good hunting." The times were right for a "great killing." The bull movement was carried through 1904 and into 1905 with great success. The call loans on Wall street collateral, nearly all of which were handled by group banks, reached high-water mark. But some of the lesser individuals fell into squabbles over the control and spoils of the Equitable Life Insurance Company. The fight waxed hot and reckless, and the country was startled with the revelations. The scandal spread. It involved the Equitable Life, the Mutual Life, the New York Life, the banks of the Morgan group, and banks of the Standard Oil group. Morgan and his associates made furious effort to suppress investigation, but the public demand forced it upon Governor Higgins, and the Armstrong committee began its work. It disclosed the relations existing between insurance companies and banks and railroads and industrial organizations, and the use of hundreds of millions of money held in trust upon which the big men of the big groups, bankers and all, were drawing, in violation of every principle of honesty in the administration of trust funds.

The effect of these disclosures upon the stock market could not be averted, though the good offices of the Treasury Department were sought and, to some extent, secured. There was scurrying to and fro.

Nineteen hundred and six had been ushered in. President Roosevelt was pressing upon Congress for railway rate legislation, urging that the wrongful aggressions of capital be curbed, urging his Department of Justice to prosecute violators of the law, announcing the novel doctrine that criminal statutes were for the rich as well as the poor, and throughout the country an awakened public conscience demanded an honest administration of the corporations controlling business and a release of the capital and surplus of the nation by the great controlling groups. The master organizations put forth all their efforts to stay the downward trend in Wall street and to stimulate a lagging market.

This is history, Mr. President. They forced dividend payments. They made them extravagant. The Baltimore and Ohio, the Pennsylvania, the Santa Fe, the New York Central, the Union Pacific, the other companies declared dividends lavishly. It was not so difficult. The traffic of the country paid for it all. The stock market responded and stocks took new high records. Determined to outface appearances, the groups ordered a new issue of stocks. In the last half of 1906 not less than \$500,000,000 of railway stocks alone were thrown upon the market, dividend issues keeping step with stock issues. It was designed to betoken a carnival of prosperity. It was expected that the country investors would respond in the old way and their money be drawn into this financial center to prop it up. But the public did not come in. Railroad securities had fallen into disrepute. Watered when the roads were built, watered when they were merged into systems, watered again when the systems were grouped, railroad stocks and bonds were regarded by the public with a suspicion bordering on contempt. Morgan and Rockefeller and Harriman and Hill were almost daily making some new move in the great game, but the public had one answer: "It is water; more water."

Finally, in the early part of 1907, the foreign markets showing distrust in our securities, the resources of trust companies and banks likewise showing the strain, the deposit bill of March 4, 1907, was crowded through this body in the closing days of the last session, furnishing the money of the Government free of interest to the national banks. It was not a drop in the bucket. Stocks had to go down. The market collapse of March, 1907, came with a smash. Union Pacific dropped \$40,000,000 in a single day. Reading, Amalgamated Copper, and Steel followed. Says one financial writer, in two days "stocks traded in on Wall street shrank more than \$1,800,000,000. What this means may be understood from the fact that it is equal to the value of the entire export trade of the United States in 1906."

But the country was prosperous. Its tremendous power of production, distribution, and consumption was again demonstrated. Credit readjusted itself. Commercial transactions took their accustomed way. The banks, engaged in what may well be termed "legitimate banking," resumed normal relations to commerce and trade.

In the meantime Wall street had been thinking. The loss of public support was a revelation to its financial bankers, underwriters, promoters, industrial chiefs, and brokers. But they had learned their lesson. It was burned into them as with a hot iron that the kind of business which they were conducting had forfeited the confidence of the country; that there must be new sources of money supply for critical periods in their operations, or their operations must cease. Not that the stock exchange has not its legitimate function in the business of the country. That is one thing. Conscienceless promotion schemes in which are employed the trust funds of banks and insurance companies to consolidate and control the industrial, transportation, and banking business of the country is another. And it is one of the perils of the high finance which has taken possession of business that once expansion and overcapitalization had been wildly indulged those in control dared not call a halt. They have climbed too high to hazard a stop or a look back, much less to undertake to reach a solid business basis.

But inflation and speculation must have its money supply. The country had refused further support. There was one thing left. The Public Treasury—the last desperate recourse. The want of elasticity in the currency system of the country was seized upon as a scapegoat and as a means to an end.

Mr. President, our currency system has its faults. Want of elasticity is one of them. But no currency system which any enlightened nation ever provided was invested with an elasticity which would, at the same time, be safe for current commercial demands and meet the inflation of values and the chicanery of financial banking to which the country had been treated for nearly ten years. Why, sir, in half that time securities were authorized approaching seven thousand millions, nearly one-third of which was authorized in 1907.

But it was necessary to prepare the country for such a scheme as fitted the requirements of the special interests repre-



sented in the great central groups of New York banks, trust companies, transportation companies, and independent organizations. The country must be given a shock. Country banks must be made to feel the pinch. The interests were angry. They had suffered from agitation, from investigation, and were otherwise humiliated. They had been fined, and other cases were pending. The President had spoken at Indianapolis, and it was evident that something respecting railway valuation was in his mind. The situation warranted, nay, demanded, extreme treatment.

Sir, can any sane man doubt the power of a little group of men in whose hands are lodged the control of the railroads and the industries, outside of agriculture, as well as the great banks, insurance, and trust companies of the principal money center of the country, to give commercial banking and general business a shock at will? Having the power, did they not have reasons (purely selfish reasons, it is true), but reasons sufficient to cause them to exercise that power in their own interest? They could even turn it to their advantage financially. From 1904 to 1906 the interests had disposed of enough stocks at artificially created prices to make it profitable to drop these same stocks and bonds still lower, taking them in finally at a profit to themselves. Owning the controlling interest of their own securities, prices are largely a matter of manipulation. They can be lowered and raised at will, damaging only the outsider who is caught "long" or "short" for the time being.

Taking the general conditions of the country, it is difficult to find any sufficient reason outside of manipulation for the extraordinary panic of October, 1907. It is true that earthquake and war had destroyed some of the wealth of the world. But look for a moment at the general business condition of this country.

The agricultural production of 1907 was a little less than 1906, but the prices were better. The farm value of the total crop of 1907 exceeded that of the previous year by \$482,739,929.

The year's business for the United States Steel Corporation was larger in 1907 than any other year in its history.

The operating railroads of the country reporting to the Interstate Commerce Commission showed an increase in net earnings for 1907 over 1906, amounting to \$260,147,835, an increase in net earnings per mile of \$239.

The balance of trade was with us. The excess of exports over 1907 was over \$500,000,000.

Five hundred and sixteen national banks were organized for the year ending October 31, 1907, as against 455 for 1906.

The deposits in all banks aggregated \$13,099,635,348, an increase over 1906 of \$883,867,682. The gain in deposits of 1907 over 1906 was greater than for 1906 over 1905.

August 22, 1907, the aggregate of national-bank capital was \$896,451,314, the highest point ever reached in the history of national banks.

The total amount of cash held by all banks reporting in June, 1906, was in round numbers one thousand million; in 1907 it was eleven hundred million, a gain for 1907 in round numbers of \$100,000,000.

The total number of State, private, national bank, and trust company failures in 1904 was 122; in 1905, 79; in 1906, 45; in 1907, 41.

There were no commercial reasons for a panic. There were speculative, legislative, and political reasons why a panic might serve special interests. There were business scores to settle. There was legislation to be blocked and a currency measure suited to the system to be secured. There was a third term to be disposed of and policies to be discredited.

A panic came. I believe that it needs only to be followed step by step to show that it was planned and executed, in so far as such a proceeding is subject to control, after once in motion. Such a statement without support in facts warranting it would deserve condemnation. To withhold such a statement, to shrink from plain speech setting forth the facts in so far as they can be uncovered in the discussion of this legislation would be to shirk a plain public duty.

Mr. President, I will join in no denunciation of any honest business, whether conducted in Wall street or elsewhere. Neither will I forbear to present and discuss facts relative to speculation in Wall street, because it may be criticised as abuse for political reasons. The operations of Wall street, the greatest banking and money center in the Western Hemisphere which influences national credit, puts the national banking business of the country on the verge of financial demoralization, threatens to stampede Congress and force lopsided emergency legislation, ought to be closely scanned and fairly and fearlessly discussed.

On the one hand, no authority has been able to assign more than vague reasons for a financial panic in October, 1907. On the other hand, in the midst of general prosperity, increas-

ing bank deposits, increasing bank capitalization, diminishing bank failures, increasing railroad business, increasing production of pig iron, that unfailing barometer of business vitality, Mr. Hill announces that it will soon be necessary for the Government to lend its credit to railway companies; President Ripley, of the Atchison, predicts approaching business disaster and deprecates investment in States traveled by his lines; the vice-president of the New York Central declares that "no man of ordinary prudence would for a moment think of investing money in a business (railways) against which every man's hand from the President's down seems to be raised." This is but a sample of the prophecies of evil which may be gleaned from the pages of midsummer magazines and periodicals. Newspaper interviews with prominent railway officials designed to intimidate appeared here and there over the country from day to day. Subordinate railway officials and station agents looked solemn. Business was good. Trains were crowded, but something was "wrong." From the big manufacturer it reaches the smaller manufacturer. It began to be felt among the merchants, and commercial travelers were heard denouncing the President and all assaults upon property. The bank deposits were increasing, but the stock markets were bad.

The panic came. It had been scheduled to arrive. The way had been prepared. Those who were directing it were not the men to miss anything in their way as it advanced. It is worth while in following the progress of the panic at this point to recall the admonitions of Professor Bullock, Mr. Woodlock, Mr. Pratt, and other economic and financial authorities of the consequences which might result from concentration of banking power coupled with speculation and possible collusion.

For a few years there had been developing a minor financial group, now known as the "Heinze-Morse-Thomas group." It consisted of twelve banks and two trust companies, a consolidated steamship company, the Heinze United Copper Company, with his banking connections in New York and Butte, Mont. Compared with the Standard Oil and Morgan groups it was a small factor. But its steamship company was encroaching on Morgan's New York, New Haven and Hartford road in the coastwise traffic, and Heinze in a running fight had forced Standard Oil to buy him off at a cost reported at \$10,000,000. Morgan was ready to show an affectionate interest in Morse, and Standard Oil was quietly lying in wait for Heinze. It all fitted together like a piece of mosaic. They could discipline the country, arrest further railway legislation, State and national, discredit Roosevelt, dispose of a third term, prepare Congress for emergency legislation, put Consolidated Shipping out of business, and pick up Heinze and United Copper on the way. Morse and Heinze were caught between the big groups.

Suddenly, in the first days of October, somebody (to use a Wall street phrase) began to "smash United Copper on the curb." The stock broke badly. Standard Oil was getting under way. Doubtless, never suspecting the source, Heinze, through his brother, a member of the stock exchange, and through brokers, bought and bought until United Copper went out of sight, carrying down Heinze's brother, one firm of his brokers, and involving the Morse-Heinze banks in the crash. Up to this point the panic had been well in hand, but with the revelations following hard upon clearing-house investigations, it slipped its bridle, and the situation assumed a serious aspect. But not for one moment did Morgan or Standard Oil miss the opportunity offered. Morse and Heinze were forced out. They were compelled to reorganize their directorships and substitute semi-dependent Standard Oil men as their successors. They were forced to sell their stocks for what they could get. Morgan attacked Morse's Consolidated Steamship Company stocks and bonds, and Morse was ultimately forced to surrender his steamship company combine, which he did. They went after the Knickerbocker Trust Company, Charles T. Barney, president, and close ally of Morse's. It was charged in New York that the interests deliberately started a run on the Knickerbocker. Morgan was appealed to for aid. Morgan, whose plaudits have been sounded here in this Chamber, was in a position to follow carefully every step and phase of this proceeding. In the first place, Mr. Morgan gave out, as reported in Wall street, that the Knickerbocker would be supported if it met the demands of the depositors who had started a run upon it. There was nothing in subsequent events to indicate that there was any sincerity in that promise, but an analysis of every step is convincing to the contrary. Support was not given; it was withheld. After the company, relying upon that pledge, had paid out millions, it was forced to close its doors, and Barney went to a suicide's grave. Barney was likewise a director in the Trust Company of America, a comparatively new institution, with a few System directors, giving the great groups a semi-interest in the institution, though they have not yet taken it over. The raid on

Heinze, Morse, Barney, et al., and the latter's directorate connections with the Trust Company of America, caused public suspicion to fall upon it. A strong run was started. This was not on the programme, but as the Vanderbilts, allies of the Standard Oil, were represented on the directorate of the Trust Company of America, Standard Oil was bound to offer some assistance. Though gold and bank notes were ostentatiously piled on the counters to impress depositors, and young Vanderbilt offered as an exhibit of resources and placed at the teller's window, the excited depositors persisted in demanding their money. Its distant relationship to the group was sufficient to save it in the end.

Conferences over the inside condition of this trust company, however, gave Morgan, owing to his group connections, information that the control of Tennessee Coal and Iron—stock control and pool stock—had been placed with the Trust Company of America by John W. Gates and his associates. In a Wall street panic there is always big game to be bagged. That is one of the uses of a panic. Morgan seized the opportunity for United States Steel. Standard Oil interests were identical with Morgan's interests in this, and he made it a condition of saving the Trust Company of America, that Gates and the Tennessee Coal and Iron pool sell to him at his price or the Trust Company of America should go on the rocks. The surrender was complete. United States Steel took over Tennessee Coal and Iron, thereby tightening its grip upon the most precious of all the national resources of the country. It was bad for the country, but the trust company was saved and Morgan was glorified.

The Westinghouse Company's experience affords another striking illustration of the useful purposes of a well-managed panic. Westinghouse was in the way of Standard Oil's General Electric. Members of the boards of directors of the Standard Oil banks were in a position to exert some influence at the critical moment most harmful to Westinghouse, and he went to the wall.

The panic was working well. The stock market had gone to smash. Harriman was buying back Union Pacific shorts, but still smashing the market. Morgan was buying in short steel stocks and bonds, but still smashing the market. The Morse group had been disposed of. Standard Oil had settled with Heinze. The Consolidated Steamship Company had surrendered to Morgan, and at the same time the interests were disciplining the people. The country banks were begging for their balances. Business was being held up. It was reported that the President had concluded to revise his message to Congress. Railway valuation would be "dropped or so modified as to be harmless." On the street and in the brokers' offices the strain of apprehension was intense. In the midst of a Wall street fight, when fear supersedes reason, it is difficult for those who are in it, but not directing it, to determine how much is real, how much is sham. Some of the guns are loaded only with blank cartridges to alarm; some are loaded with powder and ball to kill. The press set it all forth as it appeared on the surface. It portrayed the great financiers hurrying to and fro, setting a prop here, a prop there, holding midnight meetings in Morgan's library, seeking some way to avert the calamity that threatened prosperity and a nation's honor. It was a thrilling picture, but it was false. The reporters were not invited to the conferences of the inner circles where sat the men who controlled not only the great banking organizations of New York, but the transportation and business of the country, the men who were behind the panic and would stay its progress when it had served its purpose.

But the panic must be given a fitting finale, a dramatic finish.

Standard Oil had suffered a series of mortifying experiences and exposures that were beginning to tell upon the iron nerves of the men who for half a lifetime had seemed utterly hardened and indifferent to public condemnation.

Morgan and others had come out of the United States Steel bond-and-stock-conversion-performance, and the insurance scandals, badly scarred. Both Standard Oil and Morgan were much in need of redemption with the general public. It would be a great stroke of business to wind this panic up with these gentlemen as the saviors of public credit. A carefully elaborated climax, with Morgan and the Standard Oilers as the central figures would invest them with a halo of self-sacrifice and public spirit almost sublime.

The floor of the stock exchange was chosen as the scene for the closing act, October 24 the time.

The men who had created the money stringency, who had absorbed the surplus capital of the country with promotions and reorganization schemes, who had deliberately forced a panic and frightened many innocent depositors to aid them by hoarding, who had held up the country banks by lawlessly refusing to return their deposits, never lost sight of one of

the chief objects to be attained. The cause of currency revision was not neglected for one moment. It was printed day by day in their press; it passed from mouth to mouth. The phenomenal interest rates were impressing the public in a way never to be forgotten. High interest rates should be made to plead for emergency money through the telegraph dispatches of October 24 in every countinghouse, factory, and shop in America. The banks refused credit to old customers—all business to new customers. Call loans for money were at last denied at any price. This put operators caught short or long on the rack. It spelled ruin.

For the first time since the panic began 11.30 a. m. arrived with everybody on the floor of the stock exchange wildly seeking money at any price. Interest rates which had for several days ranged from 20 to 50 per cent began to climb higher. Settlement must be made before 3 o'clock. Money must be forthcoming, or the close of the business day would see Wall street a mass of ruins and banks and trust companies on the brink of collapse.

How perfect the stage setting! How real it all seemed! But back of the scenes Morgan and Stillman were in conference. They had made their representations at Washington. They knew when the next installment of aid would reach New York. They knew just how much it would be. They awaited its arrival and deposit. Thereupon they pooled an equal amount. But they held it. They waited. Interest rates soared. Wall street was driven to a frenzy. Two o'clock came, and interest rates ran to 150 per cent. The smashing of the market became terrific. Still they waited. Union Pacific declined 10½ points in ten sales. Northern Pacific and other stocks went down in like proportion. Five minutes passed—ten minutes past 2 o'clock. Men looked into each other's ghastly faces. Then, at precisely 2.15, the curtain went up with Morgan and Standard Oil in the center of the stage with money—real money, twenty-five millions of money—giving it away at 10 per cent.

"Oh, uncrowned King!"

"None but himself can be his parallel."

"Even to the dullest person standing by,  
Who fastened still on him a wondering eye,  
He seemed the master spirit of the land."

And so ended the panic.

How beautifully it all worked out. They had the whole country terrorized. They had the money of the deposits of the banks of every State in the Union to the amount of five hundred million, nearly all of which was in the vaults of the big group banks. This served two purposes—it made the country banks join in the cry for currency revision and it supplied the big operators with money to squeeze out investors and speculators at the very bottom of the decline, taking in the stock at an enormous profit. In this connection, the operations of Morgan and the Standard Oil furnish additional evidence of the character of this panic. We have record proof of their utter contempt for commercial interests, not only for the country generally, but for legitimate trade in New York City as well. Had there been bankers with high ideals, bankers with devotion to commercial interests and patriotism for their country, in control of the centralized banks of New York City, the financial mistress of a continent, with a serious panic on, real in character, which had spread throughout the great business houses of the metropolis and to the centers of trade in the nation, bankers having to deal with that crisis, and pressed on the commercial side for money with which to protect the interests and the commercial honor of the country on the one hand, while the bulls and bears of Wall street clamored for loans to enable them to speculate off of the fears and misfortunes of their fellows on the curb and in the stock exchange—confronted, I say, with that dual appeal from the commerce of the country upon the one hand, and the speculators upon the other, bankers who were commercial bankers and not underwriting bankers, promoting bankers, and operating bankers would have cared first of all for the merchant, the manufacturer, and the commerce of the country. How was it with Morgan and the Standard Oil banks? Did they give aid and support to the distressed merchant and manufacturer? Did they say to the bulls and bears, "You shall be denied the funds of our banks to still further stimulate existing excitement?" Alas, no. They pursued the course of the speculating banker. They ministered to the needs of Wall street, quite deaf to the appeals of commerce. Their course was that of men who were playing with the credit of the country for a purpose. They curtailed their commercial loans in every possible way. They steadily increased their call loans on the street, bestowing favor in a way to promote their own interests, supplying their own private brokers, denying applications and forcing all other



brokers to a cash basis wherever it would turn the balance their way. The increase of call loans on collateral aggregated over fifty millions. They let great commercial houses, great manufacturing concerns, like the Westinghouse Company, down to ruin and dishonor, while they protected their speculative patrons. No better evidence could be asked to establish the character of this panic or the character of the men who were in command. By their fruits ye shall know them!

Mr. President, I find myself unable to conclude to-night what I have to say on the bill, and I ask permission to stop here and resume in the morning.

Mr. CULLOM. The Senator from Wisconsin has occupied the floor long enough for a man who has only recently been ill. As he desires to retire for the present, I will ask the Senate to resume consideration of the legislative appropriation bill.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the unfinished business will be temporarily laid aside.

#### LEGISLATIVE, ETC., APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. CULLOM. I ask that we may proceed with the appropriation bill.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 16882) making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1909, and for other purposes.

Mr. CULLOM. I did not observe when we acted upon the amendment on page 121 relating to Alaska. I promised one of the Senators that I would defer its consideration until he could be present.

Mr. CLAY. What amendment is that, I should like to ask the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. CULLOM. The amendment on page 121. The Senator from Indiana [Mr. HEMENWAY] is not present, and he may have observed that the amendment was agreed to. I desire that it shall not be taken up until he can be present.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be regarded as open and will be passed over for the present.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, on page 132, line 4, before the word "thousand," to strike out "two" and insert "three;" in line 5, before the word "thousand," to strike out "seven" and insert "eight;" and in the same line, before the word "thousand," where it occurs the second time, to strike out "nine" and insert "eleven," so as to make the clause read:

For surveyor-general of the Territory of Arizona, \$3,000; and for the clerks in his office, \$8,000; in all, \$11,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 132, line 11, before the word "thousand," to strike out "two" and insert "three," and in line 13, before the word "thousand," to strike out "thirteen" and insert "fourteen," so as to make the clause read:

For surveyor-general of California, \$3,000; and for the clerks in his office, \$11,400; in all, \$14,400.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 132, line 21, before the word "thousand," to strike out "two" and insert "three," and in line 23, before the word "thousand," to strike out "nineteen" and insert "twenty," so as to make the clause read:

For surveyor-general of the State of Colorado, \$3,000; and for the clerks of his office, \$17,225; in all, \$20,225.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 133, line 5, before the word "dollars," to strike out "three thousand six hundred" and insert "four thousand," so as to make the clause read:

For rent of office for the surveyor-general, pay of messenger, stationery, printing and binding, furniture and repairs, muslin for mounting plats, drafting instruments, record books, indexing volumes of letters, ice, telephone, post-office box rent and register stamps, books of reference for office use, typewriter, and other incidental expenses, \$4,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 133, line 6, before the word "thousand," to strike out "two" and insert "three," and in line 8, before the word "thousand," to strike out "twelve" and insert "thirteen," so as to make the clause read:

For surveyor-general of Idaho, \$3,000; and for the clerks in his office, \$10,500; in all, \$13,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 133, line 20, before the word "thousand," to strike out "two" and insert "three;" in line 21, before the word "thousand," to strike out "eleven" and insert "thirteen," and in line 22, before the word "thousand," to strike out "thirteen" and insert "sixteen," so as to make the clause read:

For surveyor-general of Montana, \$3,000; and for the clerks in his office, \$13,000; in all, \$16,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 134, line 4, before the word "dollars," to strike out "one thousand eight hundred" and insert "three thousand;" in line 5, before the word "dollars," to insert "four hundred;" and in line 6, before the word "hundred," to strike out "six thousand eight" and insert "eight thousand four," so as to make the clause read:

For surveyor-general of Nevada, \$3,000; and for the clerks in his office, \$5,400; in all, \$8,400.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 134, line 12, before the word "thousand," to strike out "two" and insert "three;" in line 13, before the word "thousand," to strike out "ten" and insert "eleven;" in the same line, before the word "thousand," where it occurs the second time, to strike out "twelve" and insert "fourteen," so as to make the clause read:

For surveyor-general of the Territory of New Mexico, \$3,000; and for clerks in his office, \$11,000; in all, \$14,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 134, line 20, before the word "thousand," to strike out "two" and insert "three;" in line 21, before the word "thousand," to strike out "seven" and insert "eight;" and in line 22, before the word "thousand," to strike out "nine" and insert "eleven," so as to make the clause read:

For surveyor-general of Oregon, \$3,000; and for the clerks in his office, \$8,250; in all, \$11,250.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 135, line 5, before the word "thousand," to insert "five hundred;" and in the same line, before the word "dollars," where it occurs the second time, to insert "five hundred," so as to make the clause read:

For surveyor-general of South Dakota, \$2,000; and for clerks in his office, \$5,500; in all, \$7,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 135, line 12, before the word "thousand," to strike out "two" and insert "three;" and in line 14, before the word "thousand," to strike out "twelve" and insert "thirteen," so as to make the clause read:

For surveyor-general of Utah, \$3,000; and for the clerks in his office, \$10,000; in all, \$13,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 135, line 20, before the word "thousand," to strike out "two" and insert "three;" in line 22, before the word "dollars," to strike out "seven thousand eight hundred" and insert "ten thousand," and in line 23, before the word "dollars," to strike out "nine thousand eight hundred" and insert "thirteen thousand," so as to make the clause read:

For surveyor-general of Washington, \$3,000, and for the clerks in his office, \$10,000; in all, \$13,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 136, line 3, before the word "thousand," to strike out "two" and insert "three;" in line 5, before the word "hundred," to strike out "ten thousand five" and insert "eleven thousand seven," and in line 6, before the word "hundred," to strike out "twelve thousand five" and insert "fourteen thousand seven," so as to make the clause read:

For surveyor-general of Wyoming, \$3,000, and for the clerks in his office, \$11,700; in all, \$14,700.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Post-Office Department," on page 136, in line 25, to increase the appropriation for the salary of the disbursing clerk, office of the Postmaster-General, from \$2,250 to \$2,400.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was continued to the end of line 2 on page 137.

Mr. CULLOM. In line 1, page 137, I move to strike out "one stenographer, \$1,600" and insert "two stenographers, at \$1,600 each."

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, on page 138, line 11, to increase the total appropriation for the Office of Postmaster-General from \$170,193 to \$170,340.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 140, line 17, before the word "dollars," to strike out "four thousand five hundred" and insert "five thousand;" in line 19, before the word "dollars," to strike out "two thousand five hundred" and insert "three thousand;" on page 141, line 1, before the word "clerks," to strike out "twelve" and insert "fourteen;" in line 2, before the word "clerks," to strike out "forty-one" and insert "forty-

three;" in line 3, before the word "clerks," to strike out "twenty-eight" and insert "twenty-nine;" in line 4, before the word "clerks," to strike out "eighteen" and insert "twenty-one;" in line 6, after the word "messenger," insert "page, at \$420;" in line 9, before the word "dollars," to strike out "twenty-one thousand eight hundred and ninety" and insert "thirty-four thousand three hundred and ten," so as to make the clause read:

Office Second Assistant Postmaster-General: For Second Assistant Postmaster-General, \$5,000; chief clerk, \$2,500; superintendent division of railway adjustments, \$3,000; assistant superintendent division of foreign mails, \$3,000; chief clerk, division of foreign mails, \$2,000; chief, division of inspection, \$2,000; chief, division of contracts, \$2,000; chief, division of equipment, \$2,000; fourteen clerks of class 4; forty-three clerks of class 3; thirty-five clerks of class 2; twenty-nine clerks of class 1; twenty-one clerks, at \$1,000 each; six clerks, at \$900 each; messenger in charge of mails, \$900; seven assistant messengers; page, at \$420; in all, \$234,310.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the item of appropriation for the office of the Third Assistant Postmaster-General, on page 141, line 20, to increase the appropriation for the salary of the Third Assistant Postmaster-General from \$4,500 to \$5,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the item of appropriation for the office of Third Assistant Postmaster-General, on page 142, line 4, to increase the number of special agents, division of classification, at \$2,000 each, from four to six.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 142, line 15, to increase the total appropriation for office of Third Assistant Postmaster-General from \$254,770 to \$259,270.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 143, line 8, before the word "clerks," to strike out "three" and insert "four," and in line 13, before the word "hundred," to strike out "seventy-three thousand three" and insert "seventy-five thousand one," so as to make the clause read:

Division of money orders: Superintendent, \$3,500; chief clerk, \$2,250; four clerks of class 4; seven clerks of class 3; eleven clerks of class 2; eleven clerks of class 1; ten clerks, at \$1,000 each; ten clerks, at \$900 each; one assistant messenger; and four laborers; in all, \$75,110.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 143, line 16, before the word "dollars," to strike out "four thousand five hundred" and insert "five thousand;" in line 20, before the word "clerks," to strike out "three" and insert "four;" in line 24, before the word "clerks," to strike out "nineteen" and insert "twenty-five;" in line 25, before the word "messengers," to strike out "two" and insert "three," and on page 144, line 3, before the word "dollars," to strike out "forty-seven thousand three hundred and forty" and insert "fifty-five thousand six hundred and eighty," so as to make the clause read:

Office Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General: For Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General, \$5,000; chief clerk, \$2,500; superintendent, division of rural free delivery, \$3,000; assistant superintendent, division of rural delivery, \$2,000; four clerks of class 4; four clerks of class 3; twelve clerks of class 2; thirty-one clerks of class 1; stenographer, \$1,600; stenographer, \$1,200; forty-five clerks, at \$1,000 each; twenty-five clerks, at \$900 each; three messengers; one assistant messenger; two laborers; and two pages, at \$360 each; in all, \$155,680.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 144, line 5, before the word "dollars," to strike out "five hundred" and insert "seven hundred and fifty;" and in line 13, before the word "dollars," to strike out "six hundred and eighty" and insert "nine hundred and thirty," so as to make the clause read:

Division of dead letters: Superintendent, \$2,750; one clerk of class 4, who shall be chief clerk; two clerks of class 4; eight clerks of class 3; ten clerks of class 2; twenty-nine clerks of class 1; forty-four clerks, at \$1,000 each; forty-six clerks, at \$900 each; one messenger; three assistant messengers; fifteen laborers; six female laborers, at \$480 each; in all, \$170,930.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 146, line 19, before the word "copies," to strike out "one thousand five hundred" and insert "three thousand," so as to make the clause read:

For the publication of copies of the Official Postal Guide, including not exceeding 3,000 copies for the use of the executive departments, \$25,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment, under the head of "Department of Justice," on page 148, line 8, after the word "Secretary," to insert "and Assistant;" in line 10, before the word "dollars," to strike out "two thousand five hundred" and insert "three thousand;" and in line 15, before the word "dollars," to strike

out "one thousand eight hundred" and insert "two thousand," so as to make the clause read:

Private secretary and assistant to Attorney-General, \$3,000; clerk to the Attorney-General, \$1,600; stenographer to the Solicitor-General, \$1,600; two law clerks, at \$2,000 each; one law clerk of class 4; one law clerk in office of the solicitor of internal revenue, \$2,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 149, in line 10, to increase the total appropriation for the office of Attorney-General from \$238,500 to \$239,200.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 152, line 10, to increase the appropriation for law books in the office of the Solicitor of the Treasury from \$300 to \$450.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Department of Commerce and Labor," on page 154, line 3, before the word "thousand," to strike out "thirty-five" and insert "forty," so as to make the clause read:

For compensation at not more than \$10 per day and actual necessary traveling expenses of special agents to investigate trade conditions abroad, with the object of promoting the foreign commerce of the United States, \$40,000; and the results of such investigations shall be reported to Congress.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. FLINT. I have an amendment following line 3, page 154, that I should like to offer.

Mr. CULLOM. Will the Senator withhold his amendment until the committee amendments have been acted upon?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill is being read for action upon the committee amendments.

Mr. FLINT. Very well.

The next amendment was, on page 154, line 8, before the word "dollars," to insert "two hundred and fifty;" and in line 17, before the word "dollars," to strike out "seven hundred and twenty" and insert "nine hundred and seventy," so as to make the clause read:

Bureau of Corporations: For Commissioner of Corporations, \$5,000; Deputy Commissioner, \$3,500; chief clerk, \$2,250; clerk to Commissioner, \$1,800; four clerks of class 4; four clerks of class 3; five clerks of class 2; nine clerks of class 1; thirteen clerks, at \$1,000 each; eleven copyists; two clerks, at \$840 each; two clerks, at \$720 each; one messenger; one assistant messenger; three messenger boys, at \$480 each; in all, \$72,970.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 155, line 13, after the word "four," to insert "one clerk of class 3;" in line 15, before the word "clerks," to strike out "two" and insert "three;" and in line 19, before the word "dollars," to strike out "thirty-one thousand" and insert "thirty-three thousand six hundred," so as to make the clause read:

Bureau of Manufactures: Chief of Bureau, \$4,000; assistant chief of Bureau, \$2,500; chief of division, \$2,100; stenographer to chief of Bureau, \$1,400; two clerks of class 4; one clerk of class 3; two clerks of class 2; four clerks of class 1; three clerks, at \$1,000 each; four clerks, at \$900 each; three assistant messengers; one skilled laborer, \$720; two laborers; in all, \$33,600.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 156, line 4, to increase the appropriation to enable the Bureau of Manufactures to collate and arrange in the Bureau of Manufactures the tariffs of foreign countries in form for distribution to be printed in the English language, etc., from \$5,500 to \$7,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 157, line 23, after the word "dollars," to strike out "one clerk of class 4" and insert "two clerks of class 4;" in line 24, before the word "clerks," to strike out "three" and insert "two," so as to read:

Light-House Board: For chief clerk, \$2,400; title and contract clerk, \$2,000; accountant, \$2,000; two clerks of class 4; one clerk of class three; two clerks of class 2.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 158, line 10, to increase the total appropriation for the Light-House Board from \$48,320 to \$48,720.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the appropriation for the Census Office, on page 158, line 21, before the word "clerks," to insert "and fifty;" and in line 22, before the word "clerks," to strike out "ninety-two" and insert "thirty-two," so as to read:

Three hundred and fifty clerks of class 1; 132 clerks at \$1,000 each.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 160, line 17, before the word "clerks," to strike out "eight" and insert "nine;" in line 18, before the word "clerks," to strike out "thirteen" and insert "fifteen," and in line 21, before the word "hundred," to



strike out "seventy thousand one" and insert "seventy-three thousand five," so as to make the clause read:

Bureau of Statistics: For chief of Bureau, \$4,000; chief clerk, \$2,250; chief of division, \$2,000; five clerks of class 4; four clerks of class 3; stenographer and typewriter, \$1,500; nine clerks of class 2; ten clerks of class 1; fifteen clerks at \$1,000 each; six copyists; one messenger; one assistant messenger; two laborers; and one female laborer, \$480; in all, \$73,510.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 160, after line 22, to insert:

For payment of the services of experts, and for other necessary expenditures connected with the collection of facts relative to the internal and foreign commerce of the United States, \$4,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Judicial," on page 160, line 11, after the word "For," to strike out "messenger, \$720," and insert "two messengers, at \$720 each," so as to make the clause read:

For two messengers, at \$720 each.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 160, line 18, before the word "dollars," to strike out "thirty-three thousand seven hundred and twenty" and insert "thirty-four thousand four hundred and forty," so as to make the clause read:

For three stenographers, one for the chief justice and one for each associate justice, at \$900 each; in all, \$34,440, one-half of which shall be paid from the revenues of the District of Columbia.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 171, line 6, before the word "dollars," to strike out "bailiff, one thousand five hundred" and insert "marshal, two thousand;" and in line 13, before the word "hundred," to strike out "fifty-five thousand eight" and insert "fifty-six thousand three," so as to make the clause read:

Court of Claims: For the chief justice of the Court of Claims, \$6,500; four judges, at \$6,000 each; chief clerk, \$3,500; assistant clerk, \$2,500; marshal, \$2,000; one clerk, \$1,600; two clerks, at \$1,400 each; stenographer, \$1,200; three clerks, at \$1,200 each; one chief messenger, \$1,000; three firemen; three watchmen; elevator conductor, \$720; two assistant messengers; one laborer, and two charwomen; in all, \$56,320.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 171, line 18, before the word "hundred," to strike out "two" and insert "six," so as to make the clause read:

To defray the cost of the employment of auditors and additional stenographers, when deemed necessary, in the Court of Claims, and for a stenographer at \$1,600 for the chief justice, to be disbursed under the direction of the court, \$6,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 171, line 24, after the words "Court of Claims," to strike out "from more rapid deterioration, on account of the leaky condition of the roof," so as to make the clause read:

For repairs deemed necessary to preserve the building occupied by the Court of Claims, under the direction of the Superintendent of the Capitol, \$500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 173, line 3, after the word "Sec. 3," to strike out:

"The appropriations herein made for the officers, clerks, and persons employed in the public service shall not be available for the compensation of any persons incapacitated for performing the service for which such person has been employed," and insert "The appropriations herein made for the officers, clerks, and persons employed in the public service shall not be available for the compensation of any persons incapacitated otherwise than temporarily for performing such service, and the heads of Departments shall cause this provision to be enforced," so as to make the section read:

SEC. 3. The appropriations herein made for the officers, clerks, and persons employed in the public service shall not be available for the compensation of any persons incapacitated otherwise than temporarily for performing such service, and the heads of Departments shall cause this provision to be enforced.

The reading of the bill was concluded.

Mr. BACON. As the committee amendments have been disposed of, I wish to make an inquiry. I gather from the casual glance I have been able to give over the bill as the reading has proceeded that there has been a very general raising of salaries of the higher officials of the Departments. Am I correct in that?

Mr. CULLOM. In part you are. I will make a statement. We found on an examination of the Departments, of Cabinet officers, and other men employed—

Mr. BACON. I am not speaking of officers of that rank. We raised their salaries something like a year ago.

Mr. CULLOM. I am not speaking of raising the salaries of Cabinet officers, but I was about to say that the testimony

before the committee was that their forces were becoming less and less valuable for the reason that we always give them more force at a cheap rate and give them nobody entirely and thoroughly qualified for duty. Hence we adopted the policy of opening the way to promotions in the Departments so that they might be able to keep men who are qualified to discharge their duties.

Mr. BACON. I am not taking any issue with the committee as to the propriety of that course, and I simply asked that question for the purpose of propounding another. It is whether the committee has taken into consideration the propriety of raising the salaries of those who do not stand quite so high in rank as the officials who have received an increase?

I am speaking of the general clerical force in the different Departments. We began at the top and we have raised salaries very generally. We raised our own salaries some 50 per cent. We have passed a bill raising the pay of Army officers, and we have raised the pay of various officials of the executive departments. We could not raise the pay of the President under the law, but we have practically done so by not only giving him \$25,000 to pay contingent expenses, miscellaneous items, which he himself has the control of, but we have also given him \$25,000 to defray traveling expenses.

We have raised the pay of Federal judges; we have raised the pay of the clerical force of the two Houses, and now we are raising the pay of the higher clerical officials of the Departments. I should add that we have raised the pay also of common soldiers very materially.

The question in my mind is why we should stop at the pay of the lower classes of the clerical force of the executive department. It seems to me that they are entitled to consideration, as well as all other officers of the Government. I do not mention any of these increases in pay from that of the President down in any spirit of criticism; but, accepting all the increases and allowances as proper, which I concede them to be, in view of the increased cost of living and everything of that kind, the inquiry in my mind is why you should attend to the necessities of every other Department and all the grades of officials in every other Department of the Government, and why the lower clerical force in the various Departments should be omitted from that increase?

Mr. CULLOM. Is the Senator through with his inquiry?

Mr. BACON. Yes; that is the inquiry.

Mr. CULLOM. The fact I already stated, that in part we raised the salaries of higher clerks to give an opportunity to the lower clerks to come up. We thus open a way to promotion which has not been heretofore possible. When we have given a Department additional clerks heretofore we have generally put them in at the foot, at the very lowest price we could get them, and the result has been that nearly the whole force are at a lower rate of salary than they ought to be. The policy adopted by the subcommittee and the full committee has been to open a prospect for the people at a low salary to work up and get a salary that will be worth staying in the Department for.

Mr. NEWLANDS. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Nevada?

Mr. CULLOM. I do.

Mr. NEWLANDS. I ask the Senator from Illinois what is the general percentage of increase in the salaries of the employees of the executive department? Does the increase really amount to a substantial increase on the average in the pay of all the employees of the Government to the extent of 20 or 25 per cent?

Mr. CULLOM. It does not, Mr. President.

Mr. NEWLANDS. I think that such an increase is imperatively demanded.

Mr. CULLOM. To be a little more definite in reference to our own action, a Cabinet officer, or some one representing a Cabinet officer, comes before the committee and says, "Here is a position for which more salary must be paid; we can not get along without it; we can not keep the man;" and all that sort of an argument is presented to us. We give in such cases more salary when we become convinced that they ought to have it, but we have not acted upon any theory of giving so much additional per cent to any one.

Mr. WARREN. Will my colleague on the committee allow me to make a statement?

Mr. CULLOM. Certainly.

Mr. WARREN. We have not only provided, as the Senator has so well said, places at the top, which permit No. 3, to become No. 4, No. 2 to become No. 3, No. 1 to become No. 2, a thousand-dollar place to be raised to twelve hundred, a nine-hundred-dollar place to be raised to one thousand, and so forth,

but in some cases where there is a large employment of clerks we have made a change. For instance, we have put in fifty more clerks at \$1,200, and some less at \$1,000, which allows all those below to be promoted.

It is my opinion that we have increased to a greater extent those along the lower lines and many more in number than we have the upper.

Mr. BACON. The Senator from Wyoming is chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, and it seems to me that he recognizes the fact that the rule which has been applied to the payment of officers and soldiers of the Army is not the rule which he has just stated as applied to the employees in the civil branch of the Government.

For instance, as I understand the Senator from Wyoming, the rule which has been adopted has not been to give a uniform increase to all the clerical force of the various Departments, but by making a provision for a higher class of clerical force there is opportunity for those who are now in the lower class to be promoted up to the higher class, where they will get an increase of salary. But at the same time, those who remain in the lower class do not have any increase.

When it came to the military branch of the service, and I fully approved of everything that was done in that regard, there was a uniform increase of salary in every grade from the Lieutenant-General down to the lowest private. If the same rule had been applied in that case as the Senator now says was applied in the civil service, of course the opportunity might have been given to privates to be promoted, and they would have the increased pay of a corporal, and in that way privates who are deserving might get an increase in the wages by getting a promotion, or a corporal might be promoted to be a sergeant, and the pay of a sergeant might have been increased, and so he would get the increased pay.

But, on the contrary, that was not the rule adopted. It was recognized that the necessity for increased pay was one which did not simply affect the meritorious class who might secure promotion, but it should be extended to all those in the military service. I am at a loss to see—

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President—

Mr. BACON. The Senator will pardon me until I finish the sentence; then I will yield with pleasure. If there is a recognition of the fact that conditions make living more costly and that therefore a larger rate of salary is required in order to pay the expenses of the various officials and employees of the Government, I am at a loss to see why we should stop short of giving an increase to all the employees of the Government instead of excluding a part of them.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, the Senator's comparison, as I think he will see in a moment, is not good. We have raised none of the civil employees of the Army or of those who are in other military service except as we have raised other clerks—

Mr. BACON. What does the Senator mean by civil employees of the Army?

Mr. WARREN. That is, the employees of the War Department.

Mr. BACON. I am not speaking of them at all.

Mr. WARREN. We have raised private soldiers, who are getting \$15 and \$16 a month, but we have not raised clerks in the War Department. If the Senator will reflect a moment, he will see that it is not a good way to make a general raise in this bill. To do that we ought to pass another bill whereby the present law fixing the pay of classes 1, 2, 3, 4, and so forth, would be regularly raised from the pay now provided by law.

Mr. BACON. I am not speaking about the civil employees in the War Department.

Mr. WARREN. I am not talking about that or any other Department. I am not talking about the War Department at the present time. I am talking about the executive department as a whole. The War Department we will dismiss for the moment. We are confined by laws which provide that clerks of class 4 shall receive a certain salary, those of class 3 a certain salary, others of class 2 another, and so on down. If you make a raise to a certain percentage of course you might make a different law.

We make a few more clerks of class 4, and in that way the promotion goes all down the line. The increase in the salary of one clerk of class 4 raises, we will say, six people below that grade. Then when you come to raise, as we have done in some cases, fifty or sixty in a lot, it not only raises that fifty or sixty, but it raises the fifty or sixty next below them, and fifty or sixty next below the others, and so on down to the lowest paid clerk, because the places are open, and more clerks are promoted under the civil-service rules and under the system of the Departments as to the record of efficiency.

Mr. BACON. I confess I can not see the logic of the reason at all. If it were true that promotion went along the entire line and reached every clerk, then of course the system by which that was done would be a matter of comparative unimportance, but if I understand it correctly there are a great many who will not be promoted.

Mr. WARREN. They will not all be raised simultaneously at one time, because new clerks are constantly certified in from the civil service to take the lower places, but by this rapid promotion, if they are not promoted now, they will very soon reach higher places.

Mr. BACON. But that is not certain as to all the clerical force. The principle upon which we have proceeded in legislating with reference to salaries has not been based upon the scale of merit in the order of promotion. It has been based upon the recognition, in the case of every official of the Government, from the President of the United States down—

Mr. WARREN. Oh, no, Mr. President; the Senator is entirely wrong when he says the pay of every official, from the President down, has been raised.

Mr. BACON. I said we could not raise the salary of the President, but we have done other things equivalent to it. Of course we have not violated the law intentionally in that regard. But it has been done as to all the higher officials where it could be done. It has been done in the case of the salaries of the judiciary of all ranks. It has been done in the case of the legislative department.

Mr. WARREN. As the Senator will remember, it was done in the case of the judiciary by a separate law. The law was changed.

Mr. BACON. I understand that.

Mr. WARREN. A raise was provided for the Cabinet officers, but not for the assistants, the Assistant Attorneys-General and assistant attorneys, and all of that line.

Mr. BACON. But that is being done now, I say.

Mr. WARREN. No.

Mr. BACON. There are in the bill a number of cases in which that is done, and if it is not done I will make the same criticism upon it that I am making upon the overlooking of the lower clerical force. I think we ought not to make any distinction, as we have recognized that in our own salaries a large increase was required by changed conditions, as we have recognized it in a large number of officials, and after it has been recognized so far as the Senate could recognize it in the Army from the Lieutenant-General down to the lowest private, and properly recognized, as the Senator knows, I approved of it and cooperated very cheerfully in the movement. It is going to be recognized in the Navy.

Now, why it should be recognized so generally and the clerical force of the Departments in Washington should all be omitted, I can not understand from the explanation given by the committee. It seems to me if it be true that the changed conditions made it proper that there should be this increase of salary generally throughout the civil and military departments of the Government as to all ranks in some cases and as to the higher ranks in others, it ought to be made general and the lower orders of clerks—I say lower, I mean lower in rank—should also have the same increase. It costs them the increased amount to live just the same as it has cost us the increased amount to live.

I of course can not offer an amendment. I say I can not offer it. I mean that I do not know in what form to put it. But if the bill is going over, and I presume it will, I hope that there will be a question submitted to the Senate in order that we may determine the matter. Of course if the Senate thinks otherwise, all right; but I do think that having recognized the fact that the increased cost of living made it proper that our own salaries should be raised and that the salaries of the higher officials should be raised, and now that the salaries of higher clerks should be raised, the same changed condition ought to induce us to do a like justice to the lower classes of clerks, who are not here to speak for themselves and have not many people to speak for them, who have to bear their burdens and endure their sufferings in silence.

Mr. CULLOM. I simply want to say to the Senator from Georgia that we are not dealing with that proposition. We are not simply raising the pay of a higher class of clerks.

Mr. BACON. I mean those higher than the lower class of clerks.

Mr. CULLOM. We have raised the pay of clerks who are getting \$1,800, some at \$1,600, some at \$1,400, some at \$1,200, some at \$1,000, some even down to \$720. We have raised the pay of all those classes of clerks more or less.

Mr. BACON. But the criticism I make is that that is done as to some. I say if it is necessary as to any it should be done as to all.



Mr. CULLOM. The main purpose we had in view was to supply the Department with a proper force to do the work.

Mr. BACON. If the Senator from Illinois will pardon me, we have recognized in a way we can not deny that there has been a changed condition in this country which has made the cost of living very much greater than it formerly was. We have recognized that in our own cases.

Mr. CULLOM. I understand that.

Mr. BACON. I say the same condition makes it more difficult for this lower class of clerks to live, and we ought to recognize it equally in their cases.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Georgia yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. BACON. Certainly.

Mr. TELLER. The Senator from Georgia has it quite within his power, if he thinks that that ought to be done, to draw an amendment to give them 10 per cent or 20 per cent or 40 per cent increase of their present salary, and then the question can be settled by the Senate as to whether that is the right thing to do or not.

Mr. BACON. The trouble which presents itself to my mind is this: If there had been in the bill no increase of salaries in individual cases or in individual classes, then a 10 per cent increase, or whatever per cent might be deemed proper, might be suggested by way of amendment. But I do not know in what way I can draw the amendment so that it will harmonize with the action of the committee.

Mr. TELLER. I suggest to the Senator that all he need do is to draw his amendment so as to give every clerk and employee whose salary has not been raised in the bill 20 per cent or 50 per cent or whatever he wants to propose; and he can take the sense of the Senate on the question in that way.

Mr. WARREN. I doubt whether an amendment of that kind could be considered. The law fixes these salaries and it would be making an entirely new law in the appropriation bill.

Mr. TELLER. I should like to say to the Senator that the Senate has quite as much authority as we had as a committee to do it.

Mr. WARREN. Yes.

Mr. TELLER. If it can not be done by the Senate, then certainly it was not in order for the committee to bring it in.

Mr. BACON. I do not want to do anything which would be futile or without result. I make the suggestion, and if there is any such response on the part of the Senate as would indicate that it would meet with approval, I should be more than glad to do it.

Mr. WARREN. May I make a suggestion just there?

Mr. BACON. Certainly.

Mr. WARREN. The committee have simply raised the pay so far as the high places are concerned, where no regular statutory limit exists, and there have been very few cases except where it has been done by taking them from one number to the other, as from No. 1 to No. 2, No. 2 to No. 3 and so on, which of itself automatically raises the salary, but without changing the law. The few other cases have been where the responsibilities of the particular duty to which they are assigned has increased or has been considered to require a higher class or harder work than has been performed heretofore.

But after we had passed on a few that could be raised in that manner—and they were very few in number—then the disposition was to equalize as far as we could. Now, I submit that if a percentage were to be added, it would be much more just to add it to the bill as it is amended and now before us than in its original form, because if we were undertaking to equalize it, surely the Senator would not expect, in view of the vast number of employees—a great many thousand, in fact—that there would not exigencies arise that would justify a higher salary for some men than for those in other positions. I suppose he will understand, of course, there may be a class of employees who temporarily are paid, perhaps, more than they should receive in comparison with others. Therefore there should be somewhere some mode of equalizing one with another.

Speaking of the higher cost of living, I noticed with some pleasure the other day that Bradstreet's, who make a report regularly, state that living has gone down in the scale something like 12½ per cent, or that it costs 12½ per cent less to live now than it did at the time of our greatest prosperity. I do not vouch for the statement.

Mr. BACON. I suppose, however, the Senator would hardly recognize the propriety of reducing our own salaries 12½ per cent, having increased them 50 per cent on account of the increased cost of living.

Mr. WARREN. I do not think the Senator and I shall quarrel over that. If he desires a reduction, I will follow him.

Mr. BACON. No; I do not wish the Senator to misunderstand me on the subject. I was just asking the Senator's view. I do not know what may be the sentiment of the Senate on the subject, but if I may be permitted to do so and if it is not out of order at this time—I do not know whether it is or not—I will offer an amendment—I have no time to reduce it to writing, but I can state it and it can be read from the stenographer's notes—adding 20 per cent to the present salary of each employee or official in the Executive Departments of the city of Washington whose salary has not been raised by the present bill.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. President, will my colleague allow me to call his attention to the fact—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Georgia yield to his colleague?

Mr. BACON. I do.

Mr. CLAY. With the Senator's permission, I will say that I know, as a member of the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, as a certainty, that during the last six or seven years we have gradually increased the compensation of the employees of that Department every year. The present appropriation bill as it passed the House carried provisions for salary increases amounting to \$1,200,000. I know we have frequently raised the salaries of clerks from \$1,000 to \$1,100 per year and from \$1,100 to \$1,200 per year. I believe, in order to reclassify the service, it would be essential to go over the whole list so as to ascertain what salaries have been increased. A sweeping increase of 20 per cent would give most serious trouble.

Observation and experience have taught me since I have been in the Senate that we are constantly besieged at every session of Congress by employees who desire to have their salaries increased. My colleague is seeking the very best interests of the country, as he always does, but I hardly believe that a sweeping increase of 20 per cent, regardless of classification and without looking into what has been done in the past, would be a wise course to be pursued at this time in this legislative bill.

I know that two years ago we added to the post-office appropriation bill \$1,000,000 to increase the salaries of employees. We increased the salaries of rural letter carriers from \$750 per year to \$900 per year. We have also increased the salaries of the letter carriers in our cities and towns, and the post-office appropriation bill for this session provides for an additional increase of \$1,200,000. At every session of Congress we have dealt with that subject. We have dealt with specific instances and certain classes.

Senators will find that all these employees are in the classified service, beginning at \$720 a year and gradually working to \$900, then to \$1,000, then to \$1,200 a year. This bill, I will say, with my colleague's permission, provides a number of increases, but they are principally for the assistant secretaries of Departments, such as the First Assistant Postmaster-General, the Second Assistant Postmaster-General, the Third Assistant Postmaster-General, and the assistants to the Secretary of State, and so forth and so on—increasing them from \$4,500 to \$5,000. I doubted the wisdom of the action of the Senate committee in doing so, but we have done it, and it has been agreed to.

I hope my colleague will not press his amendment this evening. Would it not be better to take it up later, to classify the salaries, and to deal with the question in a general bill?

Mr. NEWLANDS. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Georgia yield to the Senator from Nevada?

Mr. BACON. I do.

Mr. NEWLANDS. I should like to make an inquiry as to whether any bill is under consideration before the Appropriations Committee, or any other committee, looking to such a general increase in the compensation of the civil employees of the Government as was made in the case of Cabinet officers, the judiciary, and Congress itself? I will state in that connection that when the bill increasing the pay of Members of Congress was here under consideration, I then thought that we ought to take up the claims of the civil employees of the Government before considering the question regarding our own salaries. I certainly did not anticipate so long a delay in the consideration of that question. I realize that an appropriation bill is hardly the proper place to enter into general legislation of this kind; I believe such legislation should be considered in a special bill that will be fully discussed and considered by a committee before it comes to the Senate; but I do not understand that any action is being taken of a general nature regarding the civil employees of the Government. It was certainly my understanding when the bill for the increase of the salaries of Members of Congress was under consideration, that that measure would be speedily followed by a measure for general relief.

I wish to say that in the West, notwithstanding the increases

which the Senator from Georgia [Mr. CLAY] says have been made in the pay of postal employees, there is serious difficulty. The increase in wages has been large throughout the entire West, and the cost of living has been increased. It may be temporarily depressed now, but it has been almost impossible, or, at all events, it has been very difficult, for the Post-Office Department to maintain the high standard of efficiency among its employees that hitherto has prevailed. Men have been leaving the service; men have been leaving the post-offices in that region, and it has been almost impossible to secure proper service for the post-offices.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. NEWLANDS. Certainly.

Mr. CLAY. I will say to the Senator that in my section of the country we have not had any trouble in securing employees to faithfully discharge their duties in carrying on the work of the Post-Office Department. The applicants for positions of that kind have been so numerous that it is much more difficult to secure positions for them than it is to retain them in office.

Mr. NEWLANDS. That may be the case in the Senator's section, but I am sure that in the Western region and in the mountain region the difficulty does exist and men are leaving the service.

Mr. WARREN. Will the Senator allow me just a moment right there?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Wyoming?

Mr. NEWLANDS. Certainly.

Mr. WARREN. I agree with the Senator from Nevada entirely as to the trouble in the Western post-offices. I will remind him, however, that the salaries of all those employees are carried in the post-office appropriation bill and nowhere appear in this bill. I agree with the Senator that they are getting too little money and that we are having great trouble in the post-offices in the West, especially in the larger offices, in getting men to do the work for the money that is paid.

Mr. NEWLANDS. My inquiry is not so much with reference to civil employees of the Government outside of Washington. My inquiry is with reference to the condition of the employees here. I think that their salaries ought to be increased, and substantially increased, and that we should not delay further consideration of this subject. I want to ask the chairman of this committee or others who may be informed whether there is any bill pending or likely to be considered at this session which will provide for a general increase of that kind?

Mr. CULLOM. There is no bill that I know of, either in the Senate or in committee, taking up the question of increasing the salaries of all employees of the Government in Washington and undertaking to regulate their pay. We have made a few increases in this bill. My view is, and it is the view, I think, of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], the chairman of the committee, that when the new Senate Office Building is completed, which will be by the next session of Congress, there will have to be a readjustment of the salaries of almost everybody about the Senate wing of the Capitol; and that will be good time to take up the whole subject of the Senate employees, to regulate their salaries according to what ought to be done, and to do it outside of the Appropriations Committee.

The Committee on Appropriations has had the pending bill under consideration, and the subcommittee has been at work on it for two or three weeks, trying to adjust the matter so that it would satisfy the Departments who have the responsibility of the work of the Administration and at the same time raise the salaries somewhat where we could properly do so in the interest of the Government.

I sincerely hope that the Senate will not undertake to destroy this bill or the work that has been done, and start out on a new enterprise of increasing and regulating salaries. That ought to be done in a separate measure without interfering with the work of the Committee on Appropriations. In regulating these salaries we have done the best we could with the light before us, the heads of Departments coming before us, stating their needs and necessities, and what they ought to have in order to properly run the Executive Departments of the Government.

Mr. BACON. Mr. President, if the Senator is through—

Mr. CULLOM. I am through.

Mr. BACON. There has been no disposition to destroy the bill, as suggested by the Senator from Illinois, or to interfere with it in any manner, shape, or form. The amendment which I have offered does not affect the amendments which have been put upon the bill by the committee or such increases in salary as have come over from the other House. It simply

proposes that where this bill does not increase the salary of any of the civil employees in the various Departments there shall be added to their present salaries the amount of 20 per cent.

Now, in response to the suggestion of my colleague [Mr. CLAY], that already salaries have been raised in a number of instances, I will say that that but increases and accentuates the point which I am making, and that is—

Mr. CLAY. I will say to my colleague—

Mr. BACON. If the Senator will pardon me a moment—and that is, that we have already made these increases in salaries in so great degree in so many branches of the Government that it is an invidious distinction and an unjust distinction to leave out those who have not been included in the increases which have been made.

Mr. CLAY. I will say to my colleague that the salaries of all post-office employees during the last three or four years have been increased a certain per cent. They start out with a certain salary and receive increases as they become more efficient.

Mr. BACON. They are increased in the way that has been suggested, where a clerk of one class can be promoted to another class.

Mr. CLAY. I would say, then—

Mr. BACON. There has been no such increase of salaries generally as will reach all the civil employees of the Government.

Mr. CLAY. With the Senator's permission, under the Post-Office Department, originally where a maximum salary was fixed at \$1,200, the committee came along and fixed the maximum at \$1,300. Consequently, an employee who was drawing a salary of \$1,200 could be advanced to \$1,300, and one drawing a salary of \$1,300 could be advanced to \$1,400.

Mr. BACON. "Could be," of course, but not necessarily would be.

Mr. CLAY. They have been.

Mr. BACON. Not all of them by any means, but only a very small proportion of them.

Mr. CLAY. I beg pardon of the Senator. Ninety per cent of the salaries have been increased.

Mr. BACON. Then the other 10 per cent ought to be increased.

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. CULLOM. Mr. President, I think it is very clear that we shall not get this bill through to-night, and I understand it is very important to some Senators that we have a short executive session. I therefore move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 25 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, March 18, 1908, at 12 o'clock meridian.

#### NOMINATIONS.

*Executive nominations received by the Senate March 17, 1908.*

##### PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

I nominate the following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade) in the Navy from the 3d day of February, 1908, upon the completion of three years' service in present grade:

Ralston S. Holmes,  
Fred H. Poteet,  
Milton S. Davis,  
Charles E. Brillhart,  
James D. Willson,  
John Rodgers,  
Charles Belknap, jr., and  
Daniel T. Ghent.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy from the 3d day of February, 1908, to fill vacancies existing in that grade on that date:

Ralston S. Holmes,  
Fred H. Poteet,  
Milton S. Davis,  
Charles E. Brillhart,  
James D. Willson,  
John Rodgers,  
Charles Belknap, jr., and  
Daniel T. Ghent.

Carpenter William O'Neill to be chief carpenter in the Navy from the 5th day of February, 1908, upon the completion of six years' service in present grade.

Second Lieut. Joseph A. Rossell to be a first lieutenant in the Marine Corps from the 25th day of February, 1908, vice Second



Lieut. William L. Burchfield, who failed to qualify for promotion and was suspended.

Pay Director Lawrence G. Boggs, on the active list of the Navy, to be a pay director in the Navy on the retired list with the rank of rear-admiral from the 5th day of April, 1908, the date upon which he will be retired in accordance with the provisions of an act of Congress approved June 29, 1906.

P. A. Paymaster David G. McRitchie to be a passed assistant paymaster in the Navy with the rank of lieutenant from the 30th day of July, 1906.

POSTMASTER.  
MISSOURI.

Robert E. Ward to be postmaster at Liberty, Clay County, Mo., in place of Andrew J. Robison. Incumbent's commission expired November 17, 1907.

CONFIRMATIONS.

*Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate March 17, 1908.*

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY.

John McCourt, of Oregon, to be United States attorney for the district of Oregon.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Lieut. Commander Reuben O. Bitler to be a commander in the Navy from the 1st day of July, 1907.

Lieut. Commander Joseph L. Jayne to be a commander in the Navy from the 3d day of January, 1908.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) David Lyons to be a lieutenant in the Navy from the 30th day of July, 1907.

Capt. Melville J. Shaw to be a major in the Marine Corps from the 1st day of January, 1908.

POSTMASTERS.  
KANSAS.

Joseph H. Smith to be postmaster at Downs, Osborne County, Kans.

NEW YORK.

Edward Reed to be postmaster at Glens Falls, Warren County, N. Y.

NORTH DAKOTA.

John W. Doles to be postmaster at Stanley, Ward County, N. Dak.

OHIO.

John F. White to be postmaster at Logan, Hocking County, Ohio.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

TUESDAY, March 17, 1908.

The House met at 12 o'clock m.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. HENRY N. COUDEN, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

GENERAL PENSION BILL.

The SPEAKER. The Chair announces the conferees on the general pension bill—Mr. SULLOWAY, Mr. LOUDENSLAGER, and Mr. WEISSE.

THREE TREE POINT MILITARY RESERVATION, WASH.

Mr. CUSHMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the Senate bill 626.

The bill was read, as follows:

A bill (S. 626) authorizing and empowering the Secretary of War to locate a right of way for and granting the same and a right to operate and maintain a line of railroad through the Three Tree Point Military Reservation, in the State of Washington, to the Grays Harbor and Columbia River Railway Company, its successors and assigns.

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That the Secretary of War may authorize the Grays Harbor and Columbia River Railway Company to build a railroad and telegraph line through the Three Tree Point Military Reservation on Columbia River, and to that end may set aside for occupancy by said Grays Harbor and Columbia River Railway Company such ground, and no more, as is actually required for the necessary track, embankments, or trestles: *Provided*, That the ground so occupied shall remain the property of the United States under such police and other military control as the military authorities may deem it necessary to exercise: *Provided further*, That the said railway company shall compensate the United States for all timber that may be cut and shall pay such reasonable annual rental for such right of way as may be fixed by the Secretary of War: *Provided further*, That the location and grade of said railroad and other details of construction within the limits of the reservation, also all matters pertaining to the operation and maintenance of said railroad, shall be under such regulations as the Secretary of War may deem it advisable to establish in the interest of the military service and as a safeguard against fire to Government timber lands: *Provided further*, That nothing in this act shall be construed as authorizing the use of any portion of the reservation as a borrow pit for fills and embankments, unless specially authorized so to do by the Secretary of War and upon the payment of such compensation as may be fixed by him.

SEC. 2. That this act shall be null and void if actual construction of the road be not commenced within two years from date of approval hereof.

SEC. 3. That Congress reserves the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, what committee does this bill come from?

Mr. CUSHMAN. From the Military Committee.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Has the House Military Committee ever considered it?

Mr. CUSHMAN. It has been favorably reported by the House Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. How much land does this take?

Mr. CUSHMAN. It sets aside for right-of-way purposes the usual width of a railroad right of way through the entire reservation.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. How large is the reservation?

Mr. CUSHMAN. The reservation is located about 22 miles above the mouth of the Columbia River, and upon the banks of the river. There are about 2 square miles in the reservation. I think the reservation is about a mile and a half in length and about three-quarters of a mile in width.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I notice that you make provision to pay for the timber you cut off.

Mr. CUSHMAN. Yes.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. And pay a rental?

Mr. CUSHMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Who fixes the rental?

Mr. CUSHMAN. The Secretary of War.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I guess he ought to know something about it.

Mr. MANN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CUSHMAN. Certainly.

Mr. MANN. Is this bill in the form in which it was prepared by the War Department itself?

Mr. CUSHMAN. Exactly.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Is this bill unanimously reported by the committee?

Mr. CAPRON. It is.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. The bill itself is exactly as the War Department prepared it, and safeguards the interests of the Government in the reservation. In fact, it goes further than usual by requiring a rental to be paid for the land. We have granted in Oklahoma and other places rights of way for railroads without requiring any rent, reserving the right to have the tracks removed, as this does.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. But where you grant the right of way you sell the land?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. They only get the right of way.

Mr. MANN. Has this military reservation ever been used for any purpose?

Mr. CUSHMAN. Not at all. It was reserved a great many years ago for a military reservation, and is still so reserved, but it has never been fortified.

Mr. MANN. What was the military reservation there for?

Mr. CUSHMAN. Simply because it was situated on the banks of the Columbia River. The Columbia River is a navigable stream, and the War Department a number of years ago established several military reservations, one at the mouth of the river, which is now fortified, another one 22 miles up the river, which has never been fortified and never been used as a reservation for military purposes, but is still reserved so it can be used for that purpose.

Mr. MANN. Under authority of law the President has set aside certain public lands for military reservations because it might be needed.

Mr. CUSHMAN. Yes; because it might be needed in the future.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Has any part of this road been built?

Mr. CUSHMAN. No; because they must first procure the right of way before they can build their road; but this bill specifically provides that this act shall be null and void if actual construction of the road be not commenced within two years from the date of approval hereof.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. I will state to the gentleman from Missouri that in these large military reservations unless Congress does grant the right of way it virtually blocks the people from beginning construction at all. They would have to go around some 20 or 30 miles.

Mr. CUSHMAN. The railroad is to run along the north bank of the Columbia River in the State of Washington.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Where does it start?

Mr. CUSHMAN. This road as surveyed is to start from the main line of the Northern Pacific Line and run from that point down the Columbia River to the ocean.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. You have every reason to believe they are going to build the road?

Mr. CUSHMAN. I have, certainly.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. It is not a speculative concern?

Mr. CUSHMAN. No, indeed.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The bill was ordered to a third reading, and it was accordingly read the third time and passed.

On motion of Mr. CUSHMAN, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

#### LIGHT-HOUSE ESTABLISHMENT.

Mr. TAWNEY. Mr. Speaker, I call up Senate joint resolution 69, granting authority for the use of certain balances of appropriations for the Light-House Establishment, to be available for certain named purposes, and I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union be discharged from the consideration of it and that it be considered in the House.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the joint resolution which he sends to the desk, and that the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union be discharged from the further consideration of the same, and that it may be considered in the House. The Clerk will report the joint resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

*Resolved, etc., That the balances of the appropriations for the construction of vessels for the Light-House Establishment appropriated for in the acts of Congress approved April 28, 1904 (33 Stats., 468); March 3, 1905 (33 Stats., 1171); June 30, 1906 (34 Stats., 659, 660, 710, and 711), and March 4, 1907 (34 Stats., 1317, 1318, and 1319), are hereby made available for the pay of officers and crews, the payment of consular fees, port dues, and exchange, the purchase of provisions, rations, fuel, engineer stores and supplies, pilotage, water, laundry, and all other necessary incidental expenses in the transfer of the following named vessels of the Light-House Establishment from Tompkinsville, N. Y., where they are to be delivered when completed, to their respective stations: Tenders for the twelfth light-house district, for the thirteenth light-house district, for the Pacific Ocean, for Lake Superior; relief light-vessel for the Pacific coast; Columbia River light-vessel, Oregon; Swiftsure Bank light-vessel, Washington.*

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, when there is an appropriation made for any particular purpose, for a year, the surplus of the appropriation that is not used goes back into the general fund of the Treasury, does it not, by automatic action?

Mr. TAWNEY. Yes; under the covering in act.

Mr. KEIFER. Not in this case.

Mr. TAWNEY. The gentleman from Missouri is speaking of the annual appropriations. I will state for the information of the gentleman from Missouri and the other Members of the House that these are balances left over from appropriations that were made for the construction of vessels, and in submitting the estimates for appropriation for these vessels originally, they included \$15,000 in addition, either because of the increased cost of constructing them on the Pacific coast, if they were constructed there, or to defray the expense of transferring them around to the Pacific coast if constructed on the Atlantic coast.

On the 28th of February last the Comptroller of the Treasury held that these balances were not available for the purpose of sending the vessels around to the Pacific coast. They were all constructed on the Atlantic coast. Now, the \$15,000 included in the original appropriation, being a balance, is not available under his decision, for this purpose. It is necessary, therefore, to enact a law making these balances available for this purpose.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. If the statute made that authorization originally, what sense is there in his ruling?

Mr. TAWNEY. The authorization did not specifically provide that this \$15,000 should be used for that purpose, and I will say that heretofore the appropriations have been made in the same way, and the balances have been used for the transfer of the vessels to the Pacific coast, and that would have been done in this case but for the decision of the Comptroller.

Mr. MANN. This is for the transfer of the light-ships?

Mr. TAWNEY. For the light-ships.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The joint resolution was ordered to a third reading, and was accordingly read the third time and passed.

On motion of Mr. TAWNEY, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

#### CANNON FOR WINCHESTER, VA.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (H. R. 18689) to authorize the Secretary of War to furnish two condemned brass or bronze cannon and cannon balls to the city of Winchester, Va.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of a bill which the Clerk will report.

The bill was read, as follows:

*Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to furnish to the city of Winchester, Va., two brass or bronze condemned field pieces or cannon, with a suitable outfit of cannon balls, which may not be needed in the service, the same to be used at the old headquarters of Gen. George Washington, which are now owned by said city, and to be subject at all times to the order of the Secretary of War: Provided, That no expense shall be incurred by the United States in the delivery of the same.*

With the following amendment:

After the word "cannon," in line 5, add the words "with their carriages and."

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was accordingly read the third time and passed.

On motion of Mr. HAY, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

#### MONONGAHELA CITY BRIDGE, PENNSYLVANIA.

Mr. WANGER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (H. R. 13448) to authorize the counties of Allegheny and Washington, in the State of Pennsylvania, to change the site of the joint county bridge which now crosses the Monongahela River at Monongahela City, Pa., and to construct a new bridge across said river in the place of said present bridge upon a new site.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of a bill which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

*Be it enacted, etc., That the counties of Allegheny and Washington, in the State of Pennsylvania, be, and they are hereby, authorized to construct, maintain, and operate a joint county bridge and approaches thereto across the Monongahela River at Monongahela City, in the State aforesaid, upon a site located at a distance of about 1,000 feet down the stream of said river from the existing bridge across the same, which connects Monongahela City, in Washington County, with Forward Township, in Allegheny County, and is now maintained by the said two counties jointly for the uses and purposes of general public travel. The said bridge hereby authorized shall be constructed in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906, and upon its construction shall take the place of and be substituted for the aforesaid existing bridge, which shall thereupon be torn down and removed.*

Sec. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

With the following amendment:

At the end of section 1 add the following:

*"Provided, That the new bridge hereby authorized shall be completed within eighteen months from date of approval of this act, and the existing bridge shall be completely removed within six months thereafter: Provided further, That this act shall not be construed as nullifying the orders of the Secretary of War, issued under date of October 10, 1906, to the commissioners of the counties of Allegheny and Washington, Pa., and the Williamsport Bridge Company, requiring the alteration of the existing bridge, but the said orders shall remain in full force and effect, and unless the new bridge is built and the present bridge is removed within the time specified in this act the aforesaid parties shall be liable to the penalties prescribed in section 18 of the river and harbor act of March 3, 1899, for failure to comply with the lawful orders of the Secretary of War."*

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was accordingly read the third time and passed.

On motion of Mr. WANGER, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. PARKINSON, one of its secretaries, announced that the Senate had disagreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 15219) making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department, for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, and for other purposes, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1909, disagreed to by the House of Representatives, had insisted upon its amendments, had asked a further conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. CLAPP, Mr. McCUMBER, and Mr. OWEN as the conferees on the part of the Senate.



The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills and joint resolution of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

S. 3530. An act to provide for the erection of a public building at Oklahoma City, Okla.;

S. 1036. An act for the relief of patentees and locators of military bounty land warrants, agricultural college land scrip, and surveyor-general's certificates;

S. 1072. An act to authorize the extension and enlargement of the post-office building at Fremont, Nebr.; and

S. R. 68. Joint resolution providing for additional lands for Idaho under the provisions of the Carey Act.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed, with amendment, bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

H. R. 15841. An act to amend section 4896 of the Revised Statutes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed, without amendment, bill of the following title:

H. R. 16143. An act to provide for payment of the claims of the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippine Islands.

#### SENATE BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED.

Under clause 2, Rule XXIV, Senate bills and joint resolution of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and referred to their appropriate committees, as indicated below:

S. 1036. An act for the relief of patentees and locators of military bounty land warrants, agricultural college land scrip, and surveyor-generals' certificates—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

S. 1072. An act to authorize the extension and enlargement of the post-office building at Fremont, Nebr.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

S. 3530. An act to provide for the erection of a public building at Oklahoma City, Okla.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

S. R. 68. Joint resolution providing for additional lands for Idaho under the provisions of the Carey Act—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

#### ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

Mr. WILSON of Illinois, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled bill of the following title, when the Speaker signed the same:

H. R. 16143. An act to provide for payment of the claims of the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippine Islands.

#### ALIENATION OF LANDS OF ALLOTTEES OF THE QUAPAW AGENCY, OKLA.

Mr. HACKNEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill H. R. 16743, for the removal of the restrictions on alienation of lands of allottees of the Quapaw Agency, Okla., and the sale of all tribal lands, school, agency, or other buildings on any of the reservations within the jurisdiction of such agency, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That from and after sixty days from the passage of this act all restrictions as to sale, incumbrance, or taxation on lands allotted to members of the various tribes of the Quapaw Agency, Okla., are hereby removed, except as to 40 acres of each allotment in the Quapaw, Peoria, Miami, Ottawa, Eastern Shawnee, Wyandot, and Seneca reservations and except as to 24 acres in the Modoc Reservation: *Provided,* That the Secretary of the Interior may, in his discretion, and he is hereby authorized, whenever he shall be satisfied that any allottee of said agency is competent and capable of managing his or her affairs at any time, to cause to be issued to such allottee a patent in fee simple for such portion of his or her allotment hereby reserved for sale, incumbrance, or taxation, and thereafter all restrictions as to sale, incumbrance, or taxation of said land covered by such fee-simple patent shall be removed: *Provided further,* That any sale, incumbrance, or contract for sale or incumbrance made or entered into by or on behalf of any allottee prior to the expiration of sixty days from the passage of this act or prior to the issuance of such fee-simple patent shall be absolutely null and void.

SEC. 2. That within sixty days after the passage of this act each allottee of the Quapaw Agency, the father, and in case of no father then the mother, and in case of no father or mother then the legal guardian, acting for the minor child, shall select the portion of each allotment hereby reserved from sale, incumbrance, or taxation and file with the Secretary of the Interior, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, or the officer in charge of said agency a description thereof: *Provided,* That if no such selection shall be made as above provided, then the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to make such selection for and in behalf of any allottee, and such selection when so made shall be conclusive evidence that such land is reserved from alienation, incumbrance, or taxation.

SEC. 3. That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to sell all the tribal lands within the jurisdiction of the Quapaw Agency, and all agency, school, or other Government buildings on any reservation within the jurisdiction of said agency, at public auction or by sealed bids, under such regulations as he may prescribe; and he is hereby authorized to convey all lands so sold to the purchaser thereof by patents in fee. And all lands within such agency which have heretofore been reserved for agency, school, or other purposes shall, on approval of this act, revert to the tribe within whose reservation the lands are located and be sold as tribal lands as herein provided.

SEC. 4. That after the sale of all such lands as provided herein, the net proceeds of such sale, together with all funds belonging to such tribes from whatever source derived, shall be apportioned and paid pro rata, under direction of the Secretary of the Interior, to the members of each of the respective tribes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and being engrossed, was read the third time and passed.

On motion of Mr. HACKNEY, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

#### PRESENTATION OF STATUE OF WASHINGTON TO SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of House joint resolution 134, authorizing the presentation of the statue of President Washington now located in the Capitol grounds to the Smithsonian Institution.

The Clerk read the joint resolution, as follows:

*Resolved, etc.,* That the statue of President Washington, now located in the Capitol grounds east of the Capitol, be, and the same is hereby, presented to the Smithsonian Institution.

The following committee amendment was read:

Strike out in lines 5, 6, and 7 the words "to aid that institution in its efforts to establish a National Gallery of Art in the city of Washington."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I want to ask the gentleman from Illinois some questions. Is it in contemplation to establish a museum of art down there the general nature of which is to be the same as the statue in front of the Capitol?

Mr. MANN. The amendment to the bill strikes out that portion of the bill. The Greenough statue, if the joint resolution passes, will probably be put in the new National Museum, not so much as an object of art, as an object of historic value. The history of the statue is rather interesting.

It is the result of a resolution passed by Congress in 1832. On February 16 of that year the House proceeded to the consideration of the following resolution, to wit:

*Resolved,* That the President of the United States be authorized to employ Horatio Greenough, of Massachusetts, to execute in marble a full-length pedestrian statue of Washington, to be placed in the center of the Rotunda of the Capitol; the head to be a copy of Houdon's Washington (in the capitol at Richmond) and the accessories to be left to the judgment of the artist.

On the consideration of this resolution, it was said by Mr. Jarvis, in charge of the resolution, that at the close of the Revolutionary war the Congress (ten States being present by their Representatives) had unanimously voted a statue of General Washington as a testimony of their esteem for his virtues and the services he had rendered to his country. In 1799 a resolution had passed unanimously for a monument instead of a statue. In 1800 the monument had been exchanged for a mausoleum:

This last resolution had in fact proved as fruitful as those which had preceded it. Several of the States had in the meanwhile showed their sense of Washington's virtues and services by erecting statues to his memory. The United States had done nothing but pass resolutions. When we looked around for the statue, the monument, the mausoleum they had ordered it was not to be seen. Those things existed nowhere but in the Journals of Congress. It was time that something more effectual should be done.

At the time this resolution was passed and the statue ordered it was the intention of Congress to place it over the vaulted tomb of Washington, which was to be constructed in the crypt of the Capitol, with an opening through the floor of the Rotunda. Washington's remains were then entombed at Mount Vernon under the control of private ownership. The death of the proprietor of the Mount Vernon estate had just taken place and it could not be known whether the tomb of Washington would eventually fall into the hands of a friend or stranger, and it was the hope of Congress that his remains might be removed to the Capitol building and entombed there.

While the original plan could not be carried through, because the owners of the Mount Vernon estate declined to permit the removal of Washington's remains, yet provision was made by Congress in 1840 for "a suitable foundation for supporting the colossal statue of Washington in the center of the Rotunda of the Capitol," and such foundations were actually laid and the statue was placed in the Rotunda.

But in 1843 Congress made an appropriation to remove the statue to the east side of the Capitol grounds, with a view of placing it "on a pedestal, under shelter, and in proper position."

When the Capitol grounds were improved under the direction of Frederick Law Olmsted in 1875 the statue of Washington was placed in the position it now occupies.

At the time that Greenough was selected by Congress as the artist it was stated, on the consideration of the resolution, that

he was considered as about to become the successor of Canova and of Chantry, and likely to become the greatest sculptor of his time. It was said that Mr. Greenough had no rival among his countrymen; that he stood alone and that there was, therefore, nothing invidious in the introduction of his name into the resolution. It was said by Mr. Dearborn in the House, on the consideration of the resolution, that he felt confident "when the work should have been completed the whole world would consider it not only as honorable to the country, but as conferring immortality upon the artist."

While the Smithsonian Institution has not formally agreed to take the statue, it is probable that that institution will be quite willing to accept the statue, to be placed in connection with the new National Museum.

The following indicates the opinion of Doctor Walcott, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution:

DEAR MR. MANN: In response to your request I have recently made a thorough examination of the Greenough statue of Washington, which is located on the plaza east of the Capitol. The statue is being injured by weathering, owing to the softness of the marble, and it should be protected both as an object of historical interest and of art.

If the statue is transferred to the custody of the Smithsonian Institution, I will endeavor, with the approval of the Regents of the institution, to provide a suitable place for it.

As the present granite base is inappropriate, provision should be made for a marble base in keeping with the statue, and also for the cost of moving and properly resetting the statue.

Very truly, yours,

CHAS. D. WALCOTT, Secretary.

HON. JAMES R. MANN,  
United States House of Representatives,  
Regent of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

The statue was located in the Rotunda, I think, in 1841. Two or three years after it was moved outside. It used to be covered every winter, but this winter it has not been covered. It is rapidly deteriorating where it is. Its principal worth is to maintain it as an object of historic interest. I hope we will be able to place it in the National Museum.

Mr. McCALL. Mr. Speaker, I want to say that the bill has my hearty indorsement as it was reported by the Committee on the Library. The gentleman from Illinois is a Regent of the Smithsonian Institution, and I want to ask the gentleman if he will take an interest in some other works of art in the vicinity of the Capitol and be willing to have them presented to the Smithsonian Institution?

Mr. MANN. Well, Mr. Speaker, while there are a large number of objects, so-called works of art, in and around the Capitol which ought to be enshrined in some place outside of the Capitol, I doubt whether the Smithsonian Institution would be willing to take all of them, even as historic objects. We might establish a collection of art freaks and fill it full from not a great distance from the Capitol, but this statue is on a different basis.

Mr. McCALL. I want to say on that point that this is regarded by artists as a superior work of art. It is the work of Greenough, who was a celebrated sculptor in his day. I understand the work is deteriorating, exposed to the action of the weather—the rain, the wind, the frost, and the sunshine—and that it is very desirable to have it protected in some way.

With reference to the figure, I will say that an old artist who is skilled in interpreting the meaning of works of art was asked what Washington was doing, what he meant by extending his hand, and the artist replied that he was reaching for his clothes, which were down in the Smithsonian Institution. [Laughter.] So it would seem proper that the statue itself should go there.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I think the House will pass the resolution now. [Laughter.]

Mr. McCALL. I was hoping, Mr. Speaker, that we might get the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN], in order to pass his resolution through the House, to consent to take, for instance, the statue of the distinguished Missourian, Tom Benton, which I understand the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] is ashamed to look at as he goes through the chamber of horrors called "Statuary Hall," and then I hope also that the gentleman may take an interest in another statue which has recently been added to the collection. Since Curry was presented I think the collection can boast the most magnificent frock coat that America has yet produced. We have a number of others which I trust the gentleman will have his eye on.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I may say to the gentleman that while the Smithsonian Institution and the National Museum are the resting place and the storehouse for various sorts of articles gathered from all parts of the world, representing almost every variety of human ingenuity, yet the line will be drawn on a large amount of art that is accepted at the Capitol, and they will refuse to take it, in my judgment.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question now is on the engrossment and third reading of the joint resolution.

The resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

#### LEASING ALLOTTED OR UNALLOTTED INDIAN LANDS FOR MINING PURPOSES.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (H. R. 17301) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to lease allotted or unallotted Indian lands for mining purposes, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That any mineral lands in any Indian reservation created by act of Congress, treaty, or Executive order which contain valuable minerals, petroleum, or other mineral products, or coal or saline beds, or lands containing clays, building or other stone of commercial value shall be subject to lease by the Secretary of the Interior on such terms and under such regulations as he may prescribe; and any such lands allotted to an Indian under any law or treaty, with restrictions on alienation, may be leased by the allottee, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, on such terms and under such regulations as he may prescribe: *Provided,* That the provisions of this act shall not apply to the Five Civilized Tribes.

With the following amendment:

Page 1, line 8, insert "for a term not to exceed twenty-five years."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I think the gentleman ought to make some explanation.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I will state to the gentleman for his information that this bill comes from the Committee on Indian Affairs with the unanimous report.

The report is as follows:

[House Report No. 1225, Sixtieth Congress, first session.]

#### LEASE OF ALLOTTED OR UNALLOTTED INDIAN LANDS FOR MINING PURPOSES.

March 12, 1908.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed.

Mr. STEPHENS, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, submitted the following report (to accompany H. R. 17301):

The Committee on Indian Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 17301) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to lease allotted or unallotted Indian lands for mining purposes, having examined the same, report favorably with the following amendment, viz:

After the word "lease," in line 7, page 1, insert the words "for a term not to exceed twenty-five years."

The bill as thus amended will read as follows, viz:

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That any mineral lands in any Indian reservation created by act of Congress, treaty, or Executive order which contain valuable minerals, petroleum, or other mineral products, or coal or saline lands, or lands containing clays, building or other stone of commercial value shall be subject to lease for a term not to exceed twenty-five years by the Secretary of the Interior, on such terms and under such regulations as he may prescribe; and any such lands allotted to an Indian under any law or treaty, with restrictions on alienation, may be leased by the allottee, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, on such terms and under such regulations as he may prescribe: *Provided,* That the provisions of this act shall not apply to the Five Civilized Tribes.

This bill, except the amendment, was recommended by the Secretary of the Interior by letter dated February 6, 1908, which letter is as follows, viz:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,  
Washington, February 6, 1908.

SIR: I am in receipt of your letter of the 18th instant, inclosing a copy of H. R. 121, entitled "A bill to subject the mineral lands on the Indian reservations in the United States and Territories to location, operation, development, and entry, and for other purposes," with request for a report embodying my opinion as to the advisability of the legislation proposed.

The title is significant of the purposes of the bill, which, if enacted into law, would authorize mineral locations on Indian reservations in the same manner as other mineral lands of the United States are subject to location, development, operation, and entry.

No provision is made in the bill for payment to the Indians for the lands which would be taken from them should the bill become a law. I believe this would be unjust to the Indians. Realizing, however, that the mineral resources of allotted and unallotted Indian lands should not remain idle and undeveloped, I had caused to be prepared a draft of a bill for submission to Congress, a copy of which is inclosed, which not only permits the leasing of Indian mineral lands in a reservation, but provides that any land allotted to an Indian under any law or treaty may be leased under such regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe.

H. R. 121 is objectionable in that if enacted into law it will authorize mineral locations to be made on any Indian reservation without restrictions.

Experience has shown that this is unjust to the Indians, as the influx of prospective miners is always prejudicial to the Indians' interests, and, in justice to them, the Department should not recommend favorable action on any bill that would render them insecure in their homes. I therefore respectfully recommend that the inclosed draft of a bill be substituted for H. R. 121.

Very respectfully,

JAMES RUDOLPH GARFIELD,  
Secretary.

HON. J. S. SHERMAN,  
Chairman Committee on Indian Affairs,  
House of Representatives.

"A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to lease allotted or unallotted Indian lands for mining purposes.

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That any mineral lands in any Indian reservation created by act of Congress, treaty, or Executive order which contain valuable minerals, petroleum, or other mineral products, or coal and sa-



line lands, or lands containing clays, building or other stone of commercial value, shall be subject to lease by the Secretary of the Interior on such terms and under such regulations as he may prescribe; and any such lands allotted to an Indian under any law or treaty, with restrictions on alienation, may be leased by the allottee, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, on such terms and under such regulations as he may prescribe: *Provided*, That the provisions of this act shall not apply to the Five Civilized Tribes."

Your committee further reports that the bill H. R. 121 (referred to by the Secretary in the above letter) was introduced in the House of Representatives by Mr. STEPHENS of Texas on December 2, 1907. Said bill is as follows, viz:

"A bill to subject the mineral lands on the Indian reservations in the United States and Territories to location, operation, development, and entry, and for other purposes.

"Whereas in the Indian reservations in the United States and Territories there are situated copper, gold, and other mineral veins; and

"Whereas the said Indians occupying and assigned to said reservations have no disposition to operate any of the said mineral lands, and interpose no objection to their operation: Therefore

"Be it enacted, etc., That all of the mineral lands in the mountainous parts, aside from the agricultural sections, situated within the boundaries of the Indian reservations in the United States and Territories be, and the same are hereby, declared to be open for location, development, operation, and entry by the citizens of the United States, in the same manner and upon the same terms as other mineral lands of the United States are now subject to location, development, operation, and entry; and that all of said mineral lands in said reservations shall be subject to location, development, operation, and entry, and governed by the same laws, rules, and regulations the same as other mineral lands of the United States are now so subject to location, development, operation, and entry.

"SEC. 2. That this act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage."

Your committee is of the opinion that it is very necessary that this bill should become a law, for the reason that there is now no law authorizing the sale or lease or development of the minerals on Indian lands, and such a condition is very undesirable. The Indians will not develop their mining lands, and the white man can not do so for the reason that there is now no law authorizing the development and working of mines on Indian lands; hence the necessity for the enactment of this legislation is very manifest and desirable.

It is a bill that has been substituted by the Interior Department—or rather, a draft was substituted for bill 121, and this entire bill was drafted in the Department, with the exception of the amendment. That amendment provides that leases shall not run longer than twenty-five years. I will further state that within the last ten years we have adopted the policy to allot tribal lands to the individual Indians all over the United States. These Indians are still regarded as the wards of the nation, and they can not lease their lands for any purpose, save agricultural purposes, for a period of not to exceed five years.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. Does the bill contemplate the leasing of the surface or the lands?

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. The mines only, or rather for mining purposes only.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. I had the impression that the phraseology of the bill was broad enough to cover the leasing of the surface as well as the mines.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. I will state to the gentleman there is a separate statute for that, permitting the surface to be leased for agricultural purposes for a period not to exceed five years. That is the general law for the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma.

Mr. MANN. This bill would cover both.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. It occurs to me that the phraseology of the bill under consideration is such as to cover both leases for agricultural and mining purposes. I doubted if the gentleman desired to have twenty-five-year leases made for agricultural purposes.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. I think, if the gentleman will permit me to read that section, he will see that he is in error:

That any mineral lands in any Indian reservation created by act of Congress, treaty, or Executive order which contain valuable minerals, petroleum, or other mineral products, or coal or saline lands, or lands containing clays, building or other stone of commercial value, shall be subject to lease, etc.

The language itself indicates nothing but mineral lands, and the minerals therein can be leased.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. I suppose the description "mineral lands" covers the lands themselves, and would include probably the surface as well as the mineral deposits in the general description.

Mr. MANN. If the gentleman from Texas will yield, might it not be absolutely necessary that the authority to lease the surface of the lands be given? Otherwise it would not be possible to make use of the mineral below—without some use of the surface lands.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. Of course the authority to lease the mineral deposits would carry with it authority to lease such rights of ingress and egress on the surface as may be necessary for a proper use of the mineral deposits or a proper development of the mines, but I understand there is a good deal of friction down in the State of Oklahoma at this time in relation to mineral lands. Squatters have located on considerable tracts of land on the surface and are refusing to pay rent or vacate.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. I will state that in the State of Oklahoma the Five Civilized Tribes country is exempted from the condition of this act.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. The gentleman is familiar with the difficulties they are having down there now in undertaking to enforce the collection of rents from squatters upon mineral lands, the deposits on which may have been leased heretofore. Are those lands entirely owned by what are called the Five Civilized Tribes?

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Yes; they are owned by the Indians, but this bill does not apply to the Five Civilized Tribes at all in that part of Oklahoma. It only refers to the Indians outside of the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma. It does not apply to those tribes at all. There are special laws that govern the leasing of these Oklahoma lands.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. Is it the purpose of this bill to authorize only the leasing of the mineral deposits—of oil, coal, stone, and so forth?

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. That is the exact purpose of the bill. And the leases are to be made by the Secretary, under the rules and regulations that may be prescribed by him.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. It is not contemplated now that under the provisions of this bill the surface of the land for agricultural or grazing purposes shall be leased by the Secretary of the Interior?

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. It is not, and it could not be done, because the Secretary would not permit it.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The gentleman states that this bill does not apply to the lands of the Five Civilized Tribes?

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. It does not.

Mr. FITZGERALD. There is no such exception in the bill.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. There is, in the very last sentence, which reads as follows, viz:

*Provided*, That the provisions of this bill shall not apply to the Five Civilized Tribes.

Mr. SULZER. Just a question: Has this bill the approval of the Secretary of the Interior?

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. It was drawn by the Secretary of the Interior (with the exception of the amendment limiting it to twenty-five years) in lieu of H. R. 121, introduced by me and copied in the report. I prefer my bill, but find it is impossible to pass it, and I am forced to accept this bill as the best I can get.

Mr. SULZER. And is it also satisfactory to the Indians?

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Certainly.

Mr. SULZER. Then it is satisfactory to me.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. If the surface is occupied for the purposes of agriculture, and entry should be made for the purpose of development of mineral resources, is there any regulation as to adjustment in regard to the land occupied for the purposes of agriculture?

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. The Secretary of the Interior has control of agricultural lands belonging to Indian tribes or individual Indians under such regulations as he may prescribe.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The lands are divided into agricultural and timber lands, so that mineral lands would not be considered agricultural lands at all?

Mr. REEDER. Did I understand the gentleman that under the general law as to the leasing of agricultural lands they may be leased for five years?

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. In the Indian Territory the Five Civilized Tribes have the right to lease for five years. Outside of that they have not. And other Indian lands are leased for agricultural purposes under rules and regulations made by the Secretary.

Mr. REEDER. My understanding of the laws of the Five Civilized Tribes was that they may only lease their lands for one year.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. By legislation they have changed that very recently, I understand.

Mr. REEDER. Yes.

Mr. FULTON. To what part of Oklahoma does this bill apply?

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. It does not affect the Five Civilized Tribes at all. It is the other Indians of the United States. It has no application to the Five Civilized Tribes, but would apply to any Indians outside of the Five Civilized Tribes.

Mr. FULTON. Does it affect all the Indians of the United States outside of the Five Civilized Tribes?

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Yes.

Mr. FULTON. It does not affect particularly the Indians in Oklahoma, then?

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. No; it makes an exception of the Five Civilized Tribes, but does apply to all other Indians in the United States.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. STEPHENS of Texas, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

#### GOVERNMENT FOR HAWAII.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 10540) to amend section 73 of the act to provide a government for the Territory of Hawaii.

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That the portion of section 73 of "An act to provide a government for the Territory of Hawaii," approved April 30, 1900, which reads as follows: "And no lease of agricultural land shall be granted, sold, or renewed by the government of the Territory of Hawaii for a longer period than five years until Congress shall otherwise direct," is hereby amended to read as follows: "And no lease of agricultural land shall be granted, sold, or renewed by the government of the Territory of Hawaii for a longer period than twenty years, and in every such case the land, or any part thereof so leased, may at any time during the term of the lease be withdrawn from the operation thereof for homestead or public purposes, in which case the rent reserved shall be reduced in proportion to the value of the part so withdrawn, and every such lease shall contain a provision to that effect."

Also, the following amendment was read:

On page 1, line 12, strike out the word "twenty" and insert the word "fifteen."

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object. I wish to ask the gentleman if the purpose of this bill is to permit the renewal of the leases held by the sugar men for a period of fifteen years?

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. The purpose of the bill is to increase the small holdings and to open up the lands to settlement by small holders. As the gentleman knows, now the lands are pretty generally held by large sugar-growing corporations and pineapple plantations. Under the provisions of the organic act leases of agricultural lands were not permitted to be granted, sold, or renewed for more than five years. Now, the gentleman knows from observation of that country that it is quite impossible for a man of limited means to go upon the wild lands or jungle lands and improve them within five years. It is necessary to remove large rocks and jungles, and perhaps make arrangements for irrigation; and it would take five years, and perhaps more, to prepare the land to grow a crop; and in the case of some crops, like rubber, as the gentleman knows, it would be impossible to get crops to produce in less than four or five years. So that the result has been that these lands have been pretty generally taken up and occupied by corporations, and men of small means have not been permitted by reason of these restrictions to enter upon these lands. The purpose of this bill is to broaden this provision and to increase the number of small holdings.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is there any limitation on the number of acres that can be leased by any individual or corporation fixed in the organic act?

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. No; there is, however, under the general law a provision, and perhaps the gentleman may recall it.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I do not recall it.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. For instance, a homestead lease of 8 acres, as provided under section 286 of the homestead laws. The lease shall not cover more than 8 acres of first-class agricultural land, 16 acres of second-class agricultural land, 1 acre of wet land, 30 acres of first-class pastoral land, 60 acres of second-class pastoral land, and 45 acres of pastoral and agricultural land. Now, the gentleman knows the method of survey there. They do not use the rectangular system of survey that we use here. It does not obtain there. The wet lands, the gentleman knows, are used for taro and rice. That term "wet lands" has a legal significance there. The lands above that are used for sugar growing and pineapples, and these are called "first-class agricultural lands and second-class agricultural lands, and so on up," and the gentleman understands about the lands further up.

Mr. FITZGERALD. My recollection is that there were very extensive holdings leased before our occupation. These leases

are now beginning to fall in. Will it be possible under this bill for these large corporations to obtain a renewal of their leases for fifteen years?

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. I understand not. It is understood to be the purpose and design of the bill to prevent that.

Mr. MANN. I call the attention of the gentleman to this provision of the bill, which I think does away with the objection he has:

And in every such case the land, or any part thereof so leased, may at any time during the term of the lease be withdrawn from the operation thereof for homestead or public purposes.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. What I desire to know is what there is in the bill that prevents or restricts the releasing of these large holdings that are said to be held by corporations for a term of fifteen years?

Mr. MANN. There is nothing in the bill. The bill provides that even if the lease is made for a term of fifteen years they can take it away from the lessee at any time without remuneration for homestead and other public purposes.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. I do not believe much in the policy of the Government keeping the title to land and leasing it, as is done under the present system.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. But under the present system the gentleman will perceive it is quite impossible to develop these lands. Vast areas there are simply jungle and rock.

Mr. MANN. I take it these lands are not of much value without some form of irrigation.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Absolutely of no value; and not only that, but there are great rocks there, and it requires the expenditure of large sums of money to get them and the jungle off the land.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. Are there considerable portions of the sugar lands leased to tenants?

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Yes, sir; I so understand.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. These are in a high state of development?

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. They are highly developed.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. Do I understand that under this law those tenants may secure an additional lease for fifteen years?

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. I suppose the tenant might go on and agree to lease a certain amount of the land, but he would earn the rent. It would take him five years to get that land in condition to grow crops.

Mr. FINLEY. How many acres of land can he lease to any one person under the provisions of this bill and the general laws governing the subject?

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. That is what I was trying to call attention to. They have a peculiar system out there.

Mr. FINLEY. I understand that, but under this bill—

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. This was an amendment to the organic act, which the gentleman may remember went on in the House. I have forgotten who introduced the amendment; possibly the gentleman himself did. Now, there is a general law in regard to homestead leases in Hawaii, and then again there is what is called a "freehold"—

Mr. FINLEY. I am familiar with that.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. This does not change that at all, as I understand.

Mr. FINLEY. Does the gentleman hold that under this bill only a homestead can be leased to any one person?

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. I do not think there is any limitation as to the amount of land that can be taken up.

Mr. FINLEY. That is the point. Now, is it not possible under that bill that one person might lease 5,000 acres, in the event that there is that much land there?

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. I do not think there is any limitation as to the area of the holdings, but if a person should proceed to lease that amount of land and improve it, subject to the right of the Government to proceed to take that and cut it up into homestead holdings, it would certainly be of great benefit. The law as to the number of acres is not changed in any respect.

Mr. FINLEY. I am familiar with the general law. The gentleman and myself helped to frame the organic law. Now, suppose a thousand acres or more of land was leased to one person and improved. When the time came and somebody wished to take that land or a part of it for homestead purposes, would he not have to compensate the holder of that lease for whatever improvements had been put on the land?

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. There is a provision in the bill to that effect.

Mr. FINLEY. I know there is, but I wish to bring it out.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Yes.



Mr. FINLEY. Now he would have to compensate. Then, would it not be better to permit homesteaders to take up the land in the first instance?

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. I did not catch that.

Mr. FINLEY. Would it not be better to permit homesteaders to take up these public lands in the first instance? Is it not true that holdings of real estate by individuals in Hawaii are very limited in acreage, and is not that one of the troubles there?

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Not very limited, because the acreage is considerable. As to second-class land, they may have 16 acres.

Mr. FINLEY. I am speaking of the actual holdings.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Yes.

Mr. FINLEY. My recollection is that the average holdings of land by the people of Hawaii are very, very small.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. No; I think the gentleman is mistaken. Balancing the small holdings against the large holdings, the average holding would be large. The difficulty in Hawaii is that the lands themselves in their natural state are very difficult to subdue to agricultural purposes. They are covered with immense rocks, the land is arid, and nearly all of it must be irrigated before it can be made productive, except that part of the island of Hawaii on the eastern side, where they have rains, and there they are raising sugar.

Mr. FINLEY. I have some knowledge of that.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. It takes large capital; the rocks have to be removed and the jungle has to be taken off in order to get the land ready for the crops. They have to put on a steam plow to break the land up, and then water must be conducted from a long distance to the land, and the land must have irrigation, so that it is obvious that the land can not be held in large holdings by men of small means.

Mr. FINLEY. Is it not true that there is a very small area of wild land, of uncultivated wild land, in Hawaii?

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. There is an immense area of uncultivated, wild land there.

Mr. FINLEY. First-class land and second-class land?

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. I think there is of first and second class pastoral land, but not of first and second class agricultural land.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and being engrossed, was read the third time and passed.

On motion of Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

#### EFFICIENCY OF THE PERSONNEL OF THE LIFE-SAVING SERVICE.

Mr. LOVERING. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (H. R. 17710) to increase the efficiency of the personnel of the Life-Saving Service of the United States.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Clerk read the amendment, which is the bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent that the Clerk read the proposed amendment. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That from and after the passage of this act the compensation of district superintendents in the United States Life-Saving Service shall be as follows: For the superintendents of the first, second, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth districts, \$2,200 per annum each; for the superintendents of the third and ninth districts, \$2,000 per annum each; for the superintendent of the eighth district, \$1,900 per annum. That the pay of keepers of life-saving stations shall be \$1,000 per annum each, and that the pay of the No. 1 surfman in each of the crews of the life-saving stations shall be at the rate of \$70 per month.

That every keeper of a life-saving station and every surfman in the Life-Saving Service of the United States shall be entitled to receive one ration per day or, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, commutation therefor at the rate of 30 cents per ration.

Sec. 3. That section 8 of the act of May 4, 1882, entitled "An act to promote the efficiency of the Life-Saving Service and to encourage the saving of life from shipwreck," is hereby amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 8. That if any keeper or member of a crew of a life-saving station shall hereafter die by reason of perilous service or any wound or injury received or disease contracted in the Life-Saving Service in the line of duty, leaving a widow, or a child or children under 16 years of age, or a dependent mother, such widow and child or children and dependent mother shall be entitled to receive, in equal portions, during a period of two years, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, the same amount, payable quarterly as far as practicable, that the husband or father or son would be entitled to receive as pay if he were alive and continued in the Service: *Provided,* That if the widow shall remarry at any time during the said two years her portion of said amount shall cease to be paid to her from the date of her remarriage, but shall be added to the amount to be paid to the remaining beneficiaries under the provisions of this section, if there be any; and if any child shall arrive at the age of 16 years during the

said two years, the portion of such child shall cease to be paid to such child from the date on which such age shall be attained, but shall be added to the amount to be paid to the remaining beneficiaries, if there be any."

SEC. 4. That all acts or parts of acts inconsistent herewith are hereby repealed.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to hear something about what the bill is.

Mr. LOVERING. Mr. Speaker, the bill is to increase the efficiency of the Life-Saving Service. It is a fact well known by those who live in the vicinity of life-saving stations and know about the work there that the service has become somewhat inefficient, owing to the class of men which they have been compelled to hire. The fact is these men should be experienced men. They are not experienced men now. There are about 2,000 men in the service, 500 of whom are inexperienced men, and to encourage enlistment of the better class of men and to maintain the service it is desirable that they should be offered some better inducement to come in.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. How much do you propose to raise the wages?

Mr. LOVERING. The wages of the surfmen, which make up a large part of the bill, is to be at the rate of \$9 a month, practically, which is equivalent to rations of 30 cents a day.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. That is, the only increase in the bill is to provide for the computation of rations?

Mr. LOVERING. It increases the salary of the superintendents about \$200 each, and it increases the salary of the keepers \$100 each, and it increases the salary of the first-class surfmen, who are practically lieutenants of the keeper, \$100.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. How much will it cost in all?

Mr. LOVERING. Two hundred and thirty thousand dollars.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Is this a unanimous report of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce?

Mr. LOVERING. Yes.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. The chief expense is the increase of the salary of the officers, is it not?

Mr. LOVERING. Oh, no.

Mr. MANN. The chief expense is in the rations being increased \$9 a month.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. The surfmen are poorly paid under existing conditions, and there is no provision for the pensioning of surfmen.

Mr. MANN. They get two years' pay.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. This bill proposes to give a pension to the dependent mothers and children?

Mr. LOVERING. It extends it to the dependent mothers.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. I think the bill is along the right lines.

Mr. MANN. It is a very conservative bill.

Mr. MADDEN. I do not think the bill goes far enough.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Will the gentleman from Massachusetts state what change this makes in section 8?

Mr. LOVERING. Section 8 is existing law. It extends the benefit to the dependent mother. There are about 20 per cent of the men employed in this service who do not have wives, but they do have dependent mothers that prevent them from entering the service, and this takes care of the dependent mothers.

Mr. RICHARDSON. The only addition that is made to section 8 is the including of the dependent mother.

Mr. LOVERING. That is all; that is every word of it.

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the gentleman a question. I understand that provision is made so that No. 1 surfmen in each of the crews shall receive \$70 per month. Does that apply to any of the other surfmen?

Mr. LOVERING. It does not. I will explain that to the gentlemen. The No. 1 surfman is liable to be called upon to take the place of the keeper at any time, and he is required to be of the very highest class of men that we have there. He is frequently and almost always, when occasion requires, promoted to the position of keeper. That man is raised \$5 a month only.

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. I understand that the surfmen get \$65 per month now.

Mr. LOVERING. Yes.

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. And they serve only eight months in the year.

Mr. LOVERING. They serve on the Pacific coast twelve months in the year. They serve on the Lakes eight months in the year, and they serve on the Atlantic coast ten months in the year.

Mr. MADDEN. Are they paid for the entire year?

Mr. LOVERING. They are paid only for the time they serve.

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. I desire to state that I have introduced a bill to give to the surfmen who work only eight months a year, and who receive only \$65 a month, half of their regular

salary during the four months they are not employed, during which time they have very hard work finding employment. I think it would be but fair that they should be thus paid.

Mr. LOVERING. I can only say that I sympathize with the gentleman absolutely.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, I only want to say a word. In my opinion, this is one of the most commendable bills which has ever been presented to this House. I know something of the life-savers of our country, and I know their story of self-sacrifice and heroism. It is one of the brightest pages in American history. These men deserve well of the Government. Their heroic deeds on our coasts speak in trumpet tones in their behalf. They are the life-savers of the Republic, and the hardest worked and the bravest and most efficient men in the public service. They should get more pay and more credit for what they do, and I will go as far as any man in the country in their behalf. I am their friend, and I want to help them, in Congress or out of Congress, in any way I can. All honor and all glory to our brave and heroic and noble life-savers. [Applause.] I hope the bill will pass.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. BARTLETT of Georgia rose.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. LOVERING. Yes.

Mr. BARTLETT of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I don't know that there will be any opposition to this bill. I do not think there should be any. I myself was at first not inclined to agree to its passage, but after a full hearing and investigation by the committee, of which I am a member; after listening to witnesses, the men who appeared before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, relate their services and their trials and their dangers and their saving of human life, and the small compensation they receive, I concluded that instead of extending and increasing the expenditures for the Army and Navy to kill people we could well afford to increase the pay of these men, and that we would spend our money to much better purpose in giving it to these men who in time of peace and at all times devote their energies and lives to the saving of human life from the perils and dangers of the sea. Nor do I believe the provision in this bill which takes care of the man who is injured in the service is in the nature of a civil pension. I think also it is right to extend the benefits of the present law to the dependent mother, for I believe Congress can well afford to extend the present law which provides for the wife and children of the man who has lost his life in the service to the dependent mother. The man who is injured in the public service in the business of saving lives should be provided for; and those who are dependent upon him, the wife, the child, or the mother, should be cared for. I trust the bill will pass. The men in the Service are at present but poorly paid; and this bill does but scant justice to the men in a branch of the public service whose chief duties are to save human lives. And the record of these men as shown to us demonstrate that many of them are heroes indeed. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question now is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill as amended.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. LOVERING, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

#### LEAVE TO PRINT.

Mr. LOVERING. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that Members have leave to print on the bill just passed for ten legislative days.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

#### COMPLETING PEDIMENT OF HOUSE WING OF CAPITOL.

Mr. McCALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (H. R. 17983) for completing the pediment of the House wing of the Capitol, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That the expenditure of \$75,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be, and the same is hereby, authorized for the purpose of completing the pediment of the House wing of the Capitol by placing suitable statuary thereon, said expenditure to be made under the direction of the Speaker of the House, the Joint Committee on the Library, and the Architect of the Capitol.

With the following amendments:

Strike out the word "Architect" and insert the word "Superintendent."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question now is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, read the third time, and passed.

#### MANUFACTURE, ETC., OF ELECTRIC LIGHT AND POWER IN HAWAII.

Mr. KIMBALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (H. R. 16643) to ratify an act of the legislature of the Territory of Hawaii authorizing the manufacture, distribution, and supply of electric light and power in the district of Lahaina, county of Maui, Territory of Hawaii, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk proceeded to read the bill.

During the reading:

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I shall object to the consideration of that bill by unanimous consent.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Will the gentleman withhold his objection to let the gentleman explain the bill? It is an important measure. It has the unanimous support of the committee.

Mr. MANN. I have no objection to that, but I would object after the explanation was given. It is ridiculous to consider it by unanimous consent.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Possibly the gentleman, out of the abundance of his information, might be able to point out to the gentleman wherein it is unconstitutional.

Mr. MANN. I think anybody in the House could do it.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. I think that is doubtful.

The SPEAKER. Objection is heard.

#### EXEMPTION OF HOSPITAL SHIPS.

Mr. COUSINS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill S. 4377, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Cousins] asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 4377) to carry into effect the international convention of December 21, 1904, relating to the exemption in time of war of hospital ships from dues and taxes on vessels.

Whereas a convention providing for the exemption of hospital ships in time of war from the payment of all dues and taxes imposed for the benefit of the State was signed at The Hague on December 21, 1904, by the plenipotentiaries of the United States of America, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, China, Korea, Denmark, Spain, Mexico, France, Greece, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Montenegro, the Netherlands, Peru, Persia, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, Serbia, Siam, and Switzerland; and

Whereas the said convention was duly ratified by the Government of the United States of America by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and was proclaimed by the President of the United States May 21, 1907: Therefore

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That hospital ships, concerning which the conditions set forth in articles 1, 2, and 3 of the convention concluded at The Hague on July 29, 1899, for the adaptation to maritime warfare of the principles of the Geneva convention of August 22, 1864, are fulfilled, shall, in the ports of the United States and the possessions thereof, be exempted in time of war from all dues and taxes imposed on vessels by the laws of the United States, and from all pilotage charges.

Sec. 2. That the President of the United States shall by proclamation name the hospital ships to which this act shall apply, and shall indicate the time when the exemptions herein provided for shall begin and end.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that, as the Chair understands it, this is a Senate bill. The request is to discharge the Committee on Foreign Affairs from further consideration of the bill, with the statement that a similar House bill has been reported and is on the Calendar, and the request is to consider the Senate bill?

Mr. COUSINS. It is to discharge the Committee on Foreign Affairs from further consideration of the bill H. R. 14931, which is identical with this Senate bill, and that the Senate bill be passed.

The SPEAKER. But that bill is on the Calendar and the Senate bill is before the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. COUSINS. The House bill has been reported unanimously.

The SPEAKER. Yes; but the Senate bill has been referred, as the Chair is informed, to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. COUSINS. Precisely.

The SPEAKER. And now the request is to discharge the Committee on Foreign Affairs from the consideration of the Senate bill and consider the same, and that the House bill lie upon the table?

Mr. COUSINS. That is the request.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.



The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. Cousins a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

#### PENSION APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. KEIFER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the general pension appropriation bill.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the pension appropriation bill, with Mr. Townsend in the chair.

Mr. KEIFER. Mr. Chairman, in pursuance of the original agreement, I now yield one hour of time, or so much thereof as he may need, to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. KENNEDY].

Mr. KENNEDY of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I congratulate myself upon the opportunity to address the House upon "St. Patrick's Day in the Morning." I presume the honor is accorded me because I so seldom trespass upon the patience of the House by talking from the floor.

Mr. Chairman, I have rarely in my service in this House claimed the privilege of talking upon this floor, and if you will indulge me briefly I wish to express some of the thoughts that have come to me touching the general good.

I feel profoundly the responsibility of being a Member of the Congress of the United States at a time so fraught with tremendous consequence both to our nation and to civilization.

I listened with very great interest to the eloquent panegyric pronounced the other day by the gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN] on the President of the United States and his wonderful message. I concur with him fully in many of the things he said. It is gratifying to hear such unqualified approval of the attitude of this Republican Administration come from the other side of this House.

I can not refrain at this time from expressing my indignation at the criticism that has been heaped upon the President's head by the press and by certain public speakers who have attempted to characterize Roosevelt as the destroyer of prosperity, the cause of the recent financial troubles. It is said that he should have proceeded to work the wonderful revolution and reformation that is already assured in our business and political life in a quieter, gentler way. I read one article that went forward at some length to describe how the gentle and lovable McKinley would have proceeded to have reformed and brought under supervision the pirates that have raided our interstate commerce and levied unjust tribute upon our iron highways of trade and travel between the cities. It is said that he should have called them together and had a conference with them, remonstrated with them, showed them that it was inevitable, that these reforms would have to come, and that they would have seen the wisdom of his advice, and that all this mighty revolution would, under him, have been accomplished without any injury to business.

This could all have been done quietly, it is said, without angering anybody, and that the strenuous President now in the White House with his big stick has frightened business and terrified legitimate interests and is the cause of the panic; and every reactionary statesman in America, every advocate of graft, every defender of the old régime has become a calamity howler predicting disaster to business if we do not abandon the clear line of duty so plainly indicated in his message by this heroic, fearless champion of justice and honesty.

The mere statement of such unreasoning criticism brings a smile of derision to the face of every Member of this House who was a Member of the House when the rate bill was first proposed and while it progressed by slow stages toward its completion.

No one appreciates as does a member of the legislature himself the absolute necessity of the big stick and of the strenuous champion, the dauntless and fearless leader in the inauguration of this wonderful work which our President has commenced.

No one has a more profound admiration nor a deeper feeling of respect for the sainted McKinley than I. He was the most universally beloved and respected of all the citizens, living or dead, of my native State. His fame is the brightest jewel in the crown of the great district whose Representative upon the floor of this House I now have the honor to be. While admirably adapted to do the work that he did, he would have been utterly unable to accomplish what Roosevelt has achieved.

He had his work to do and he did it well. He has established forever and firmly fixed to endure, I trust, the great principle of American protection; but the work of this Administration required a big stick, a big stick that could not

have been wielded by his gentle hands. Why, his best endeavors would not have produced even a ripple upon the seething pool of business and political corruption which the eloquent gentleman from New York so graphically described.

It is fresh in the memory of all of us, when the debates in the House were in progress, how many eloquent eulogies were paid to the efficiency of railroad-rate makers; how it was insisted that they had a monopoly of all the intelligence that was capable of fixing a rate upon the railroads, and what pathetic appeals were made to the House not to confiscate the stocks of widows and orphans invested in the railroads by Members of that House, who must have known that the money of widows and orphans was invested in the minority stocks of the roads, while in many instances the entire earnings of the railroads were given away in rebates to the interests which held the majority of the stock. Yet, if I remember aright, every Member of this House, except seven, after that provision had been pending for some time, was compelled by the "big stick" which had been transferred to their constituents at home, to vote for that bill.

The President has not been polite enough. He has been too strenuous. He has dared to speak the words "predatory wealth" and "rich malefactors," and the very utterance of these words has disturbed the trade of this country and brought on a panic. If his critics had lived two thousand years ago, what a storm of indignation they would have expressed when the Christ of Nazareth lashed the money changers indignantly from God's own temple! These money changers were business men, men of great consequence, in old Jerusalem. Doubtless they had concessions from those high in the government and should have been treated with more consideration and courtesy. The record does not disclose whether this conduct on the part of the Saviour produced a panic or not, but it undoubtedly did occasion some disturbance of business. But the world has not much cared.

Neither do the American people care whether the struggle for commercial and industrial liberty—this great, spontaneous movement in the direction of business honesty and fairer competition—caused the panic or not. They have set their faces toward its complete accomplishment.

Did ever the Anglo-Saxon race, when roused in the cause of justice and freedom, pause to count the cost? They will not now. This work must go on. No power on this earth can stop it. The victory is already assured. The organized forces of opposition to the policies of the President are falling into disorder and confusion and will soon be in full retreat. Before the next Presidential election the battle will be substantially over.

The eloquent gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN] advocates the selection for President of a crusader, to use his own words. Yes, he wants a crusader, he says—the peerless leader.

I am reminded of a talk I once had with an old civil war veteran whose service had been with the infantry and he was greatly prejudiced in favor of that branch of the service.

The cavalry—

Said he—

are held away back out of danger while the battle rages, until the lines of the enemy are broken and they are flying from the field. Then the cavalry charge with bugles blowing, sabers flashing, all yelling like—like fury. They throw the enemy into hysterics and wind the whole performance up in a blaze of glory.

The crusade was the most stupendous exhibition of organized foolery recounted in all the annals of history. As a display of enthusiasm, although insanely misdirected, it was sublime.

And in this regard the peerless leader would be indeed a crusader. I congratulate the gentleman from New York on his simile. His candidate is not wholly without experience in the crusading business. It is scarcely eight years since his peerless crusader showed to the world what he could do in that line. You all remember the splendid enthusiasm, the wonderful concerted action of his first crusade. He, followed by over six million of the weak-minded, charged and yelled and crusaded over the country for free silver coined at a ratio of 16 to 1.

The esprit de corps of that crusade was as perfect as was that of the crusade which went in quest of the Holy Sepulcher. Whatever the peerless leader did, they all did. When he charged, they all charged. When he yelled, they yelled. When he shouted for free silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, they said "Sixteen to one!"

For enthusiasm and concert of action that demonstration has never been surpassed. We have in Sacred Writ, however, the story of a like devotion to a single idea, a like concert of multitudinous action on the part of that herd of swine, also possessed of the devil, that went charging and squealing down into the sea and were drowned. Why, my Democratic friends, for enthusiasm and devotion you can never beat that! They were all drowned, every mother's pig of them!

Do the gentlemen think the country would appreciate another exhibition? We all know that the peerless leader, the star performer, is now ready. If we may believe the current press, he is out himself billing the principal cities for the show.

Let us be serious and inquire where in the procession of events we are now. We have been engaged in a tremendous struggle against a commercial feudalism that has grown almost supreme in its imperial power. But look about you. The strongest of its embattled castles have already capitulated. The white flag is flying over many of those strongholds where once they took tribute from our interstate commerce. In their council chambers a mighty change has come. The shipper walks in standing straight up as an American citizen should. He is not to-day cringing and begging for the same rate as the most-favored shipper. He no longer leaves that presence with tears flowing down his face, while some insolent baron says, "Sell out or be ruined." He goes forth with a feeling akin to pity for the anxious men who are there soberly studying the Constitution and the rate bill.

The last authoritative utterance that comes to us from the Standard Oil Company, the strongest and oldest and of all the great corporations the most persistent offender, is an announcement to the public that it is ready to be good. Mr. Archbold, in his speech at the banquet in New York, advocated a national license for corporations, clearly conceding and declaring the legislative power and duty to control great interstate traders. In a former article he said that he favored complete publicity on the part of that company. What more does the public want? Graft, duress, and every form of extortion flees before the blazing light of publicity.

Now, what are we going to do with the Standard Oil Company and kindred organizations? We are nearing a reconstruction period, and everyone who soberly considers the signs of the times knows that the war is over. The President has transferred the big stick from his own mighty grasp to many millions of hands over this country, and has taught them how to use it.

If there is any doubt about this, gentlemen, I would point to Ohio, and there you may see with what relentless zeal that head is clubbed which opposes the President's policies in opposition to the people's will, no difference how that head may be crowned with past honors and dignities. Past service to the public, no matter how great, eloquence and ability universally recognized, can not interpose or save.

Nowhere in this great land of ours can criticism of the President, inspired by hate and spleen, win applause, save in the shadow of the stock exchange in Wall street.

From this time on, no political party can formulate a platform looking toward any recession, any reactionary movement, any going backward. The work of the next Administration will necessarily be a work of business reconstruction, and in determining what shall be done with the Standard Oil Company we should bear in mind that that great organization is one of the most splendidly devised business institutions that the world has ever known, capable of doing enormous good in the future. To destroy it utterly, while it might give amusement and passing delight to a charging crusader, would be an economic crime against society.

At this time it seems to me not inappropriate to glance backward to an almost complete analogy in history, and I trust the American people will be able to profit by the wisdom of their fathers.

Many chapters back in the great epic of civil liberty civil government rose from the ruins of the feudal system after a fierce struggle. When the power of the barons was broken no doubt there were many who advocated their utter destruction, but soberer counsel prevailed and they were not killed. They were spanked well, and when they manifested a disposition to be good they were given place in the new state and became honored and useful pillars in Liberty's reconstructed temple.

Such should now be the treatment accorded the predatory trusts. We must spank them until they consent to be good; formulate and enact such laws as will insure performance on their part.

This will be the work of the next Administration. And it can't be done by the Democrats charging and yelling under the leadership of a crusader. We have reached the time when it is more important to go right than to go fast. There is no danger that more seriously menaces the public good than misdirected zeal.

The President in nearly all of his public utterances has said this:

It is as important to have a firm hand upon the brake as to wield the whip.

He has iterated and reiterated this warning to the American people until it appears that that marvelous, comprehensive mind

must have had a premonition that the Democratic party would get full of enthusiasm and start to crusading again.

There is danger. At any moment Mr. Bryan may promulgate some idea that has got crosswise in his brain and stampede the whole Democratic herd. We must now address ourselves to the enactment of conservative legislation under the constitutional power to regulate commerce, having in view the establishment by law of the doctrine of the "square deal," comprehending absolute freedom of trade in our interstate commerce and the reestablishment of old-fashioned, generous competition among business men.

Having these things in view, the American people would do well to choose for their next President the great, constructive statesman, the profound constitutional lawyer.

He must bring to the public service ability and training for the task of the highest order. It is not an erratic enthusiast, talking of Government possession of railroads, that we need to lead us into untried paths of experiment, but an Executive of judgment and discrimination to advise legislation that will bring the railroads back to first principles, make them again to be public highways, public property under the control of public trustees serving all the people alike. The new legislation, imperatively demanded to make competition fair and restrain certain interstate traders called "trusts," must be formulated by those who at least are able to discriminate between the good and the bad, between the rich corporation which does right and the rich corporation which does wrong. This being admitted, we may eliminate every Democrat from the Presidential problem. For on that side of the House have you not rallied against the tobacco trust and the United States Steel Company with equal virulence? With a like fury you would charge on both, because, forsooth, both are rich. The one is a pirate, sand-bagging its competitors, driving them to the wall, and ruining them by every species of crime against competition that wicked avarice and cunning have been able to invent. The other has competed fairly and generously with every competitor in the same business. I know whereof I speak. The independent iron and steel works have prospered equally with those of the great corporation.

I know how strenuously you on that side of the House will combat this declaration of mine, that this great company has been fair in its dealings with all others in the iron business. It seems almost a party necessity for you to do so; for have you not in your party platforms declared for the destruction of the trusts, and promised the country to destroy them by administering to them free trade when you should come into power? You all know full well that your specific remedy, your trusticide, will not hurt the tobacco trust, nor the beef trust, nor the Standard Oil Company, nor the sugar trust, nor any of the monopolies, except by impoverishing the whole country and thereby rendering them less prosperous.

It is very, very important, that the next President must be one who will not deem it his duty to be unfriendly to any great corporation merely because it is rich.

Our next President should be a Republican. There are many names of great Republicans eminently qualified for the responsibility before the country. We Republicans are divided in our choice for President, but not divided in our admiration for or appreciation of those great statesmen who are now being loyally supported by their respective States for this great place.

In this spirit of enthusiastic appreciation for the splendid merits of all his rivals, my native State, Ohio, at the recent convention brought forward her favorite son and presented his name proudly to the nation. She unanimously urges him as the logical candidate to carry forward in unbroken sequence the great work of this Administration.

He is a great jurist, deeply learned in the science of the law; an accomplished statesman, knowing the needs of society and the legitimate scope and functions of civil government, and he has shown himself to be a great administrative officer. If he is nominated he will inspire the American people with a confidence that they have rarely ever felt in any candidate. He will carry his native State by the largest majority ever there polled, save only that marvelous vote given to President Roosevelt. He was an able and a just judge, an efficient governor-general of the Philippines, a great War Secretary, and if nominated and elected he will be a patriotic and efficient Chief Magistrate, bringing glory and prestige to the nation as his ancestors brought honor and renown to his native State. [Loud applause.]

MR. KEIFER. I do not see the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. BOWERS] present. I would like to have him consume some of his time.

MR. BURLERSON. I will act for the gentleman from Mississippi, and I yield thirty minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. OLLIE M. JAMES].



Mr. OLLIE M. JAMES. Mr. Chairman, it is always a delight to hear a Republican speak, but it is quite an anomaly to hear a Republican try to explain a panic. We have heard so often from that side of the House an entirely different character of speech to the one heard to-day. Our friend, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. KENNEDY], tells us that 6,000,000 weak-minded men followed the standard of Mr. Bryan. I want to say in reply to that, Mr. Chairman, that what Mr. Bryan advocated was a dollar which you said was worth only 50 cents. But as much as you denounced that, the Republican side of the House, from the Committee on Banking and Currency, has brought forward a bill here at this session, by unanimous report, with the exception of one, or perhaps two, Republicans, not to coin that despised and hated dollar worth only 50 cents, as you said, for which weak-minded men fought, as our friend declared, but wanting to foist upon the country a dollar worth only 5 cents in reality, and God Almighty only knows what prospectively it would be worth. It would all depend upon the condition of the market and the price the assets brought. [Applause on the Democratic side.] What must be the character of imbecility upon that side of the House, if we have weak-minded men, I should regret to say. In 1896 we fought for more money to meet the business needs of the country. Then the per capita was only \$21. The Republicans said we had enough money. What the country needed, as they declared, was confidence, not more money. Yet, Mr. Chairman, with the discoveries of gold and the addition to our currency, we have now the great per capita of \$35.60—more than any other country in the civilized world except France—almost an increase of 100 per cent over 1896. Yet the country is in a panic and the cry from all quarters is more money. What would have been the awful plight and wreck of our country and property values if we were at the per capita which you Republicans said was enough and an abundance staggers the imagination.

Soup houses, panics, Democratic adversity wrought upon the country have been the stock arguments heretofore of the Republicans in their speeches to which we have listened. Why, we have listened so often to the siren tones of that eloquent gentleman from Indiana [Mr. LANDIS], the most impassioned and brilliant orator upon that side, as he would shake that white head and tell us of the soup houses and of the idle men and of the reduced wages by reason of Democratic administration, and of how Republicans always brought prosperity. We hear no more a sound from that sweet lute. We hear no more the delightful tones of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DALZELL] as he enswoons us when taking us upon a delightful excursion, which he personally conducts every Congress, unfolding to us the delightful panorama of the flaming furnaces and belching smokestacks, the hum and whirl of busy machinery, happy men at work and contented with a full dinner pail, singing the sweet song of Republican prosperity. How is it now? No more do you hear him upon that most interesting subject. That nightingale, too, has been silenced. And instead we hear the sad story, which I shall read, a dispatch from his home:

SOUP HOUSE OPENS IN PITTSBURG, WHERE THE CRY OF DISTRESS HAS GROWN STRONGER—15,000 IDLE.

PITTSBURG, PA., February 8.—The cry of the unemployed daily grows more distressed in Pittsburgh. There are 15,000 men idle, and the specter of the dreaded soup house again makes its appearance. The first soup house will be opened by the Salvation Army Monday morning, and unless there is some radical and prompt change for the better more places of this kind will be in demand before many days have elapsed.

The situation is not really alarming, but it is bad enough. Soup houses have been the dread of the business men and civic leaders, and every effort has been made to avoid them.

The Republican party forced to go into partnership with the Salvation Army to feed the unemployed in soup houses now! [Applause.]

But we heard also the speech about prosperity from our distinguished friend from Illinois [Mr. BOUTELL], when he enraptured us with the delightful strains that Democracy meant panic, that Republicanism meant prosperity. We heard him as he read from Southern newspapers telling about prosperity in Dixie land, and we listened with rapturous delight as he enumerated all the evidences of prosperity of our land. But that harp since then has ceased its strains, and the last time he was seen upon this floor he was reading the Holy Bible and trying to prove that Cæsar was entitled to certain tribute. [Laughter and applause.]

Why, the truth of it is, Mr. Chairman—

The harp that once, through Congress halls,

The soul of prosperity music shed

Now hangs as mute on Congress walls

As if DALZELL, BOUTELL, and LANDIS were dead!

[Great laughter and applause.]

But you have got the soup houses, gentlemen. The burden upon you is to explain it. Two million idle men begging for work, reduced wages for those fortunate enough to have employment—this is the melancholy story of the acme of Republican legislation.

Mr. Chairman, Secretary Taft, upon whose shoulders the mantle of Theodore Roosevelt is to fall, speaking at Columbus, August 16, 1907, used the following language:

A graduated income tax would also have a tendency to reduce the motive for the accumulation of enormous wealth, but the Supreme Court has held an income tax not to be a valid exercise of power by the Federal Government. The objection to it from a practical standpoint is its inquisitorial character and the premium it puts on perjury. In times of great national need, however, an income tax would be of great assistance in furnishing means to carry on the Government and it is not free from doubt how the Supreme Court, with changed membership, would view a new income tax law under such conditions. The court was nearly evenly divided in the last case, and during the civil war great sums were collected without judicial interference, and as it was then supposed within the Federal power.

This is an unusual announcement coming from such a profound source. Admitting, as he does, the equity and fairness of an income tax, he announces the strange and unusual doctrine that the fortunes of thousands of millions of this country and of the great corporations of this land, aggregating many billions of money, must escape taxation until some great national need is upon the land, permitted, as they are now, to place a sickle into harvests they have not tended, to gather from fields they have not tilled, rolling in opulence and luxury, that the taxgatherer must not visit them, but instead, he must frequent the cottage and the cabin and gather from the great plain people the revenue for the Government. This is a remarkable argument, sir, in view of the fact that these fortunes have grown with such rapidity and to such an abnormal size that they are called by the President himself swollen fortunes, though, perhaps, he might have more appropriately said stolen fortunes. [Applause.]

By what character of argument can he undertake to exonerate these men from aiding in some degree in bearing the burdens of government, which offers them such fertile fields for remuneration? But even in this the Secretary exposes a startling lack of knowledge of the history of the party whose standard he desires to bear. His party had an opportunity in time of great national need to place this income-tax law upon the statute books. In 1898 when this country was engaged in war with a foreign power, this opportunity was afforded his party. The Democrats in that Congress offered as an amendment to the war revenue bill an income-tax law that made the mighty fortunes of this land bear some part of the burdens of the Government. The poor man was then not only paying the taxes, giving freely of his treasure, but he was offering up his life upon the field of contest that others might enjoy the same liberty that his forefathers wrung from the army of Cornwallis. [Applause.] On April 29, 1898, the Democratic party in the House, by the minority leader [Mr. BAILEY], offered an income-tax bill, but the Republican party, true to its record, when the Democrats were trying to lay upon these men's accumulation of wealth an income tax, asking that out of their abundance they should give a pittance, the millionaires of the country cried out to the Republican party, those who had contributed thousands to prostitute the electorate and purchase the election, to remember their Creator in the days of their power that their time in office might be long, and with absolute unanimity they voted this measure down. [Applause and laughter on the Democratic side.] And what will the country say, the millions of American voters, when their attention is called to the fact that the probable nominee of the Republican party announces that they might do in the future what they have failed to do in the past? One of the causes of the war with Great Britain, when the colonies were marshaling their forces in armed conflict, was taxation without representation. The very converse of this proposition is true in America to-day. These men who hold these great fortunes, these great corporations whose wealth mounts into the millions, have representation, great representation, powerful representation, without taxation, and one is as unjust as the other. [Applause on the Democratic side.] Mr. Chairman, in the Fifty-eighth Congress, when speaking on this subject, I used the following language:

I say, Mr. Chairman, that we are glad to welcome the President to the Democratic platform. Many good planks are in it, and as he is now securely fixed in the Presidential chair for the term for which he was elected, no more to be a candidate, as he himself has declared, let him become the tribune of the poor, let him wield the righteous sword of the common people. I look forward to the time when he will send a message to Congress saying that he wants this House to reform the tariff and put all trust-made articles on the free list; that he will go further and say that all articles manufactured in this country that are protected by a tariff and sold to foreigners cheaper than to citizens of this country shall be placed upon the free list; that he will ask us to effectually destroy the trusts by denying them the right of interstate commerce, and saying that when the fact is ascertained in any court of competent jurisdiction that an article is trustized it shall not be sold outside of the State of its production; and that he will ask us to deny them the use of the United States mails; that he will take a fearless stand for the suppression of private monopolies.

All these planks are in the Democratic platform. We are willing to follow him along these lines. Let him send a message to this House saying that we ought to go back to the pristine days when the im-

mense fortunes of this country did not escape taxation, when the tax-gatherer visited the palaces of the rich as well as the hovels and cottages of the poor, and let him ask us to rehabilitate the income-tax law and place it upon the statute book, and see if the Supreme Court, with its change of personnel, has not changed its position upon this most equitable of all ways to defray the burdens of government. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

I indulged the hope here on February 8, 1905, that the President of the United States would send a message to the Congress asking for the rehabilitation of the income-tax law. I am gratified beyond measure to see that three years after that time the President did send to Congress a message asking us to pass an income-tax law and place it upon the statute books. But what answer has his party made to this request? You will look in vain to see any legislation of this character attempted by the Republicans, and what shall the country say of the Republican party, which, in power for eleven years in every department of the Government, has placed upon the bended backs of the tolling millions of this land the revenue burdens which they have borne, and are just waking up at the eleventh hour to find out that the Democratic party has been right on the question of the income tax. [Applause on the Democratic side.] Eleven years finds Mr. Roosevelt proclaiming and Mr. Taft asserting that the income tax is just, and yet these same gentlemen belong to a party, and doubtless indulged in it themselves, which denounced Mr. Bryan as an anarchist and a malefactor against his Government because he proclaimed a decade ago the righteousness of such a law and that it should be placed upon the statute books.

Mr. Chairman, the conduct of the Republican party of governmental affairs for twelve years demonstrates beyond controversy, to my mind, one thing, and that is if the word "hypocrite" should be lost to the English tongue, the word "Republican" would stand for it still. We have seen them change position upon every public question until the shuttlecock, in comparison, could not be mentioned in the same day. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.] One year they are standing pat on a tariff that is the acme of human production; the next year they are promising a reduction of it. They used to tell us that the tariff was not a tax paid by the consumer. Then, when driven from that position by the obvious proof that the monopoly or trust protected added the price of the tariff and made the consumer pay it, they announced the doctrine that it was only the difference in wages paid laborers in different countries as compared with Americans. For seven long years Theodore Roosevelt has been President of the United States. This tariff has needed reforming and with all his vaunted courage, he has not yet summoned himself up to that notch where he has challenged the aggregate monopolies of the country to a contest with the American people in favor of the destruction of their monopolies. But here, on the eve of a national campaign, we are told not only by this distinguished gentleman, but by his protégé, that the tariff will be revised after the election. Why not revise it now? Why have you waited all these years, with absolute control of the Government, to change this tariff law, which you now admit has produced the great monopolies of this country? Why wait until after the election? Is it because you are afraid for the American people to pass upon your conduct, or is it because you fear the trusts if you revise it in the interests of the people. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Indeed, is it not because you fear the wrath of the people if the revision is not along lines favorable to them, and the tightening of the purse strings of the great trusts and monopolies if the revision of the tariff is not favorable to them? Article 460 of this Dingley tariff law which I hold in my hand places a tariff of 20 per cent ad valorem upon harvesters, reapers, cultivators, and thrashing machines, and these things which are used by the farmers to till the earth and woo from the soil the substance which feeds the world. You place a tariff tax upon them of 20 per cent ad valorem, but in your charity to the American farmer you put on the free list article 466, acorns, dried or undried, but not unground. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.] And again, the equity of this great production, upon which the Republican party has been standing pat, this model tariff law, places hats, bonnets, hoods, men, women, and children's clothing upon the taxed list of \$2 per hundred and 20 per cent ad valorem. But to show your great kindness and charity to the American people (art. 596) you place leeches upon the free list. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.] Mr. Speaker, if there is a country in the world in which there are blood suckers and leeches, it certainly is the United States, and if there is any one thing upon which I would favor a prohibitive tariff as high as heaven, it would be on leeches. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.] But the magnanimity of the Republican tariff offers them to the Amer-

ican people without taxation. You place a tax of 6 cents a pound on tobacco that enables the trust to control the market and fix the price not only to the producer, but to the consumer as well. In article 684, out of the abundance of an overflowing heart, you put tobacco stems on the free list.

Mr. Chairman, I imagine I can hear a conversation that goes on in the rooms of the Ways and Means Committee between the chairman of the committee, the gentleman from New York [Mr. PAYNE], and the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DALZELL], when they were considering this Dingley tariff law, when the latter said to the former: "Well, we put clothing on the taxed list, we put farming implements on the taxed list, we put kitchen utensils on the taxed list, now what shall we put on the free list? The people have got to have something; they are getting pretty hot."

I can hear the gentleman from New York as his great heart wells up in his reply: "You say the people are getting pretty hot?"

"Yes," says Mr. DALZELL, "they are." "Well, let us put ice on the free list then." And this is what they did. [Prolonged laughter and applause on the Democratic side.] Article 578 places ice on the free list. Mr. Speaker, you absolutely do allow English ice to be imported into this country without taxation. I had always thought up to this time that notwithstanding the country had fallen upon evil days and many burdens had been visited upon it, such as the continued rule of the Republican party, that the Lord still loved us enough to send the winter to freeze our lakes, our ponds, and our rivers, that we might have ice without importing it. But the Republican party is wise; it peers far into the future, and if they knew they were given unbridled control of the Government for twelve years the monopolies and trusts would make it so infernally hot that water would not freeze, and, therefore, they put ice on the free list. In fact, sir, after putting every article in daily use in the homes of the land on the taxed side of the tariff law the Republican party turned and gave, in its great and unusual charity to the American people, one other thing. Article 623 places nux vomica on the free list. I presume that this was done because they knew that after the voters of the country had swallowed the Republican party and its principles, nux vomica would be very much needed. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. KEIFER. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will allow me, I would like to suggest—

Mr. OLLIE M. JAMES. Oh, I yield only for a question; my time is limited.

Mr. KEIFER. I wanted to ask the gentleman if he remembered that in previous tariff bills we had peanuts voted for unanimously on the Democratic side in the way of a high protective tariff, and also sumac, that grows in the poor hills in the region of Lynchburg, Va.

Mr. OLLIE M. JAMES. I suppose we voted for peanuts because we knew that if you Republicans continued in power, the people would be devilish lucky if they could get hold of anything at all. [Laughter on the Democratic side.]

Mr. KEIFER. And the Democratic party wanted to protect peanuts against the roasted peanuts of Spain.

Mr. OLLIE M. JAMES. Oh, I will be glad to discuss peanuts with the gentleman some other time. [Laughter.] But I want to call attention to some other things. Now when you come to reform this tariff, and my friend has talked about the Standard Oil, there are some things here on the free list that you ought to allow to remain sacred. This is a great production, this tariff bill, and I do not wonder that the distinguished leaders on that side halt considerably when we talk about revising it. Your charity, my friends, to the American people has been so great that in their interest and on their behalf I protest against your undertaking to reform this tariff; that is, unless you allow to remain sacred forever this free list. Think of it! Here is article 588, old junk. That is also placed on the free list. [Laughter on the Democratic side.]

Every farmer in the country and every laboring man that gets old junk can thank God there is no tariff tax upon that—that you have placed that on the free list. I do not wonder, as I said, Mr. Chairman, that this tariff bill is not to be touched; but I want to call your attention to the position of the Republican party when legislation of some real value is offered to the American people. You had an opportunity to vote upon different questions, and your record has been written. You can not change it. I know that you are trying to imitate Bryan, and I wish you would only do more of it, but your record has been written, and it is written in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of this country. Here was an amendment offered—you talk about trusts—here was an amendment



offered to you on June 2, 1900. This amendment was offered by Mr. Terry of Arkansas on behalf of the Democrats:

Whenever the President of the United States shall be satisfied that the price of any commodity or article of merchandise has been enhanced in consequence of any monopoly, as defined in this act, he shall issue his proclamation suspending the collection of all customs duties or import taxes on like articles of merchandise or commodities brought from foreign countries. Such suspension shall continue as long as such enhancement in price of such commodity or article of merchandise exists and until revoked by the President.

How did our Republican friends vote then? You talk about the Standard Oil! To-day the President of the United States, whom you elected—we did not put him in power—if that amendment had passed, would have the power, if he believed that were a monopoly, as he must believe, to take the tariff off of oil and let oil come in free. [Applause on the Democratic side.] He would have not only that power, but he would have the power to take the tariff off of steel, if he believed there was a steel trust controlling the price of that commodity. But when you had an opportunity to vote on these questions the Republican party looked to the trusts and the trusts looked to the Republican party, and when the Democratic party was about to lay the ax to the very root of monopoly, which would destroy it, the trusts cried out to you for protection, and the cry was not in vain. [Applause on the Democratic side.] Mr. Chairman, that the tariff is used as a foment and protector of trusts no man conversant with the history of this country can deny. Statistics show that there are more than two hundred trusts in this country that are made possible by the tariff. Who can give any just reason why the tariff should be allowed to protect a trust or monopoly which is so mercenary, so forgetful of the people in this Government which offers to them its protection? They manufacture goods here and send them across the ocean, pay the freight, and sell them to foreigners in an unprotected market and charge less than they do to our own home people. And yet, if this amendment had been the law, it could have been used as a sword to cut down monopoly, and millions of dollars would have been saved to the people.

Under the Dingley law, section 3, you provide that the President shall have the power, by proclamation, to impose a tariff upon coffee, tea, and vanilla beans when he becomes convinced that any articles of our manufacture are dealt with unreasonably. You were quite willing to give the chance and right to the President to raise the tariff when some manufacturer was being discriminated against by foreign countries, but you were unwilling to give the American consumers, the millions of our countrymen who have made this country great, the benefit of such a law in their interests when manufacturers in their own country had monopolized against them and were discriminating against them in favor of the foreign consumer. [Applause on the Democratic side.] It is not necessary, Mr. Chairman, to be sending long-drawn-out messages in pyrotechnic display before the country inveighing against dishonest methods—dishonesty in high places. With these I most cordially agree, yet the President, with a message of a dozen lines, could strike a blow for the American people that would be more effectual than a train load of such messages, if he will ask Congress to place upon the free list all articles that are manufactured or controlled by trusts in the United States. Why, only in this Congress, Mr. Chairman, when an amendment was offered by the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK] providing that the agents of the United States in foreign countries should ascertain and obtain proof as to whether or not manufacturers in the United States were selling goods in foreign markets cheaper than at home the Republican party voted down the amendment and sustained the Speaker in ruling it out of order. We saw this illustrated in the Fifty-eighth Congress, when the Republicans voted to a man in favor of giving the armor-plate manufacturers a monopoly in armor plate for our Navy. An amendment was offered providing that not more than \$398 per ton should be paid for armor plate.

The proof was incontrovertible that this profit was enormous and outrageous, and yet our Republican friends on the other side voted it down, and an amendment was offered providing that in case they were unable to purchase armor plate at these places the United States should manufacture it itself. That a monopoly existed in the manufacture of armor plate, there is no controversy, but the Republicans lined up in favor of the monopoly and voted down the amendment. When San Francisco had been wrecked by the great earthquake, when the hearts of the American people bled for these stricken people, when homes and fortunes of lifetime accumulation had been swept away, when Representatives on this floor opened the doors of the Treasury to provide for them, when alien people in distant lands gave of their substance to these people, a bill was introduced providing that those articles upon which a tariff appeared which would be needed in re-

building this stricken city should be permitted to come into the country free of duty; but the Republican party was again to the rescue and voted it down. They were willing to take the people's money that had been gathered by taxation and give it to this city and these people, but the onslaught of monopoly and the iron hand of greed could not be loosened from the throat of this prostrate city. And so it was with Baltimore when that city was swept by flames, the glare of which could be seen from this Capitol, monopoly was permitted by the Republican party to feed upon these people in rebuilding that city.

We saw another evidence of the Republican party's friendship for the trusts when, on June 16, 1906, Mr. Sullivan, a Democrat from Massachusetts, offered the following amendment:

*Provided*, That no part of this provision shall be expended for material and supplies which are manufactured or produced in the United States, unless said articles are sold to the Isthmian Canal Commission at export prices, whenever such export prices are lower than the prices charged the consumer in the United States.

This was to deny the monopolies of the country the right to rob the Government in building the great Panama Canal. Yet, our Republican friends all rallied to the support of their Speaker, when he declared it out of order, and, on appeal by the Democrats, the Republicans voted to sustain him, and by that to allow the monopolies in this country to rob the Government in the sale of supplies in the building of this canal by charging more for them than they sell the same supplies to foreign purchasers for. Another evidence of the partnership that exists between the Republican party and the trusts was shown with striking force when the Democrats, on June 2, 1900, offered an amendment denying to any corporation, association, or joint stock company, operating or doing business in any State of the United States, the right of interstate commerce when it was organized and carried on for the purpose of controlling the manufacture or sale of any article of commerce; but our Republican friends again rallied to the support of the monopolies and voted this down. Another amendment was offered by the Democratic side denying to trusts and monopolies the use of the United States mails in aid or furtherance of their business or purpose to monopolize either the production or sale of any article of commerce, and the Republican party was again to the rescue of the trusts and voted this amendment down. So it is, Mr. Chairman. The whole history of the two political parties shows the Democratic side battling for the people against monopolies and the Republican party battling with monopolies against the people.

Why, Mr. Chairman, I heard the distinguished gentleman from Michigan [Mr. TOWNSEND], the other day, trying to prove that railroad rate legislation was a Republican doctrine. How did he prove it? By the declaration of his party platform? No. For in 1896 it was silent; in 1900 it was silent; in 1904 it was silent. That was a burning question then. A party is known by the principle it declares in its national convention and not by a bill introduced by some man here and yonder. But what are the real facts? The Democratic platform in 1896 demanded railroad rate regulation. As a crusader, it certainly brought forth good fruit. I care not who it was that took up this proposition so long as he fought along Democratic lines. The Republican party had the hearty support of the railroads in 1896 and 1900. I remember they had parades in Kentucky. They forced their men into them. They poured money from their treasury into the Republican fund to corrupt the voters. What was the result? They bought up the election for the Republican party. You came into power, and what did you do? Having been educated by the Democratic party, educated by Bryan, you heard the roar of discontent throughout the country by reason of discriminations and wrongs wrought upon the people of this country by the common carriers. You brought out the Townsend-Esch bill. What sort of a bill was that? Did it have the penitentiary penalty? It did not. I made a speech calling attention to this failure in the law and saying the only way to regulate the railroads was by providing a penitentiary penalty. The Hepburn bill came to this House without any such penalty. From my place upon this floor I offered an amendment providing for a penitentiary penalty, which Secretary Taft says is the only thing that vitalizes and makes powerful this law. How did you gentlemen vote? Every Republican upon that side of the House voted no. You wanted to fine them. You wanted the railroads to be speculating on the question as to whether they could steal more from the people than they could be fined by the courts. [Applause on the Democratic side.] I read from Secretary Taft's speech at Columbus, Ohio, of August 19, 1907. He says:

It is well understood that the Elkins bill was passed without opposition by, and with free consent of, the railroads, and that the chief reason for this was the elimination of the penitentiary penalty for

unjust discriminations. The abolition of imprisonment as a possible penalty was unfortunate. Experience has shown that a mere fine is generally not enough to deter a corporation from violation of the law, because it then becomes a matter of mere business speculation. The imprisonment of two or three prominent officers of a railway company or a trust engaged in giving or receiving secret rebates, would have a greater deterrent for the future than millions in fine.

By this utterance Secretary Taft shows that the imprisonment penalty is all that vitalizes and makes powerful or effective the railroad rate law. Yet he does not give the credit to the Democratic party. The Republican party voted down the amendment which I offered providing for this imprisonment penalty, and when the bill went to the Senate, Senator Stone, a Democrat, offered the amendment providing for the penitentiary penalty, and it was incorporated into the law. So, it was not the Republicans, but the Democrats, who made this fight in the interests of the people. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

What an indictment against the Republican party in Congress made by a man in whose hands you want to place your standard, saying the Republican party in the Congress of the United States brought forward a bill here to do what? Give the railroads immunity from punishment with the full consent and the approval of the railroad companies. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Chairman, the Democratic party has announced to the country a new mode of warfare. It is—the people shall command and the leaders must obey. They have a leader; his name is upon every tongue; it is graven on the heart of every Democrat. He has convictions and the courage to express them. He has stood for something, he has sown the good seed, and has raised in front of an army of the most merciless vultures the world ever saw the commandment "Thou shalt not steal." He is the one indeed who has never prostituted his giant intellect for money and never sold the love the American people bear him for corporation gold. [Applause on the Democratic side.] He cut the way through the wilderness of greed and was the pioneer. It's great to be a pioneer, Mr. Chairman; his path is always red with blood and wet with tears, but his name lives. The people of this Republic, at the coming election, are going to reward him, and the hand that will bear the Democratic standard is the same one that wielded the first sword in defense of the American people against organized greed. They only wait, sir, with restless anxiety the opportunity to elect that grand, that splendid, that matchless Democrat, William J. Bryan, President of the United States. [Prolonged applause on the Democratic side.]

#### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

The committee informally rose; and Mr. DALZELL having taken the chair as Speaker pro tempore, a message from the Senate, by Mr. PARKINSON, one of its secretaries, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment bill of the following title:

H. R. 17311. An act to authorize the Pensacola, Mobile and New Orleans Railway Company, a corporation existing under the laws of the State of Alabama, to construct a bridge over and across the Mobile River and its navigable channels on a line approximately east of the north boundary line of the city of Mobile, Ala.

The message also announced that the Senate had disagreed to the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 4112) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the reorganization of the consular service of the United States," approved April 5, 1906, had asked a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. LODGE, Mr. CULLOM, and Mr. BACON as the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate had disagreed to the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1424) to increase the efficiency of the Medical Department of the United States Army, had asked a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. WARREN, Mr. SCOTT, and Mr. TALIAFERRO as the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed the following resolution, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

#### Senate concurrent resolution 46.

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring).* That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to cause to be made an examination and survey of Galveston Harbor as a whole, including Galveston Harbor, Galveston channel, Texas City channel, and Fort Bolivar channel, in the State of Texas, for the purpose of establishing a broad, comprehensive, and systematic plan for the future extension, enlargement, and deepening of said harbor so as to meet the growing needs of commerce, and to estimate the probable cost thereof.

#### PENSION APPROPRIATION BILL.

The committee resumed its session.

Mr. KEIFFER. Mr. Chairman, I now yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PRINCE] one hour's time, or such part thereof as he desires to take. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. PRINCE. Mr. Chairman, I am in favor of the pending measure. When the time comes to vote for it my vote will be found in favor of it.

I desire, however, this afternoon to speak upon another question that is not the question under discussion at this time. I desire to call the attention of the committee and of the country to the currency question. Prior to the civil war the stock of money and currency in this country was of two kinds—specie, which was the money, and State bank notes, which was the currency of the country. About one-half of the stock of currency and money in the country prior to the civil war consisted of State bank notes. The amount of circulation per capita at that time was a trifle over \$13—I think, in exact figures, \$13.65 per head. As I have said, a part of this currency was what we now call a credit or asset currency. In that portion of the State banks that issued currency based upon bonds many of the notes were never redeemed. That portion of the State banks that issued their notes upon the commercial credit of the country, that made a provision to redeem their notes over their own counters in gold, or made provision to redeem their notes at some redemption agency, never failed to make good their notes.

The war came, and we were compelled from necessity to adopt a different form, so far as our money and our currency were concerned. The Government, in the stress of war, issued demand notes. It issued United States notes, commonly known as "greenbacks." It later authorized the national banking system, and national bank notes were issued and became a part of the stock of the money and currency of this country. In 1864, the period when the greenback ideas were most prevalent, when the greatest amount of United States notes were in circulation, we had then a per capita circulation of a trifle over \$19 a head, and part of these notes were almost worthless. It took \$2.85 of those United States notes to equal one dollar in gold. During that period specie payment was suspended. Only \$25,000,000 of specie was in circulation, and that was upon the Pacific coast. The balance of our money and currency was of the kind of which I have spoken.

On March 2, 1908, the stock of money and currency in the United States consisted of gold coin \$1,635,848,474. Almost one-half of our money and currency on the 2d day of March, 1908, was of gold coin or bullion, every dollar of which was worth 100 cents here or anywhere else in the world.

Our gold increased from January 1, 1879, up to March 2, 1908, seventeenfold. Our standard silver dollars to-day are \$562,930,982. These silver dollars are worth 50 cents, intrinsically speaking; the other 50 cents is maintained by the faith and credit of the Republic. Likewise the subsidiary silver of \$143,000,000. There is in circulation a trifle over \$5,000,000 of Treasury notes of 1890, based upon the faith and credit of the country. There is in the stock of money and currency \$346,000,000 of United States notes worth intrinsically not a farthing, but based upon the credit and faith of the Government and maintained at a parity by \$150,000,000 of gold, making these notes worth 50 cents on the dollar and the other 50 cents based upon the faith and credit of the country, because there stands in the reserve funds of the United States \$150,000,000 to maintain \$346,000,000 of United States notes.

Then we come to national bank notes. On March 2, 1908, there were \$695,674,519 of national bank notes, intrinsically not worth a farthing, based on the promise to pay of the United States, based upon the bonds, and the bonds are based upon the faith and credit of the United States.

We find that almost half of our stock of money and currency is asset currency, based upon the faith and credit of the United States, and has no intrinsic value. So far as the national bank notes are concerned, they are about one and a half times or twice the amount they were in 1879. So that, to epitomize it, we have multiplied our gold, actual money, seventeen times since January 1, 1879. We have twice as much national bank notes in circulation as we had in 1879.

We are confronted to-day with this question: As to how we can increase the stock of money and currency in the United States. It comes in from two sources. The one is through an increase of the specie, gold and subsidiary silver; the other is from an increase in the national bank notes. There is no other way by which our stock of money and currency can be increased except in these two ways. Have we increased it, and, if so, how much? Turning to the records, I find that between August 1, 1907, and March 2, 1908, we added gold to our stock of money to the



amount of \$169,679,736; subsidiary silver, a trifle over \$13,000,000; national-bank notes, \$92,000,000; total, \$267,000,000.

There are now pending in different branches of the Congress measures seeking to enlarge this country's currency, not money—mark the distinction—the currency of the country, not its money, to the extent of about \$500,000,000. I find that from August 1, 1907, to March 2, 1908, we have increased our stock of money and currency more than half of what we are seeking to increase it by measures pending in the different branches of Congress, of which more than half of it is actual money; the other proposed increase is nothing more nor less than currency based upon the faith and credit of the country.

On August 1, 1907, I find from a statement of the Secretary of the Treasury that the national-bank depositories held Government money to the extent of \$145,000,000. On January 1, 1908, these same banks held Government money to the extent of \$245,000,000. So that between the 1st of August, prior to the beginning of the supposed panic, up to January 1, 1908, the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States put his hand in the Treasury—the people's Treasury—and drew therefrom \$100,000,000 and placed it in the depository banks of this country, for which he received not a penny of interest. I was amazed, gentlemen of the House, when I found that the great State of Illinois, third in population and wealth, holding within its borders the second city on this continent, in point of wealth, commercial influence, and business, had less money deposited in the 395 national banks of the State of Illinois on the 31st day of December, 1907, than the one, single, solitary Standard Oil bank in the city of New York had at that same time. Three hundred and ninety-five banks in Illinois had \$13,000,000 of the Government's funds and one bank in the city of New York had over \$17,000,000 of the people's money at that same time. I have heard it said that there was at least a semblance of favoritism on the part of somebody somewhere in putting this money into these banks at the expense of the great State of Illinois and the balance of the United States during this critical period from August 1, 1907, to March 1, 1908.

I have looked over every measure pending in the Congress. I have been unable to find a solitary bill which seeks to correct this manifest executive favoritism through the departments of the executive branch of the Government placing money to this extent in the banks at the expense of the balance of the United States. The Fowler bill seeks to correct it. It is the only bill that does correct it, and it is time to correct it now. It is time that this kind of discretion under the law is stopped by this Congress. It is time we should say, "Thus far shalt thou go and no further." And yet we find that one set of banks that might probably be called "system banks" has in the neighborhood of \$30,000,000 of the public funds on deposit in those banks.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question, simply for my own information? Has the gentleman any figures to enable him to state the amount of deposits in national banks, in State banks, in private banks, and in trust companies, say, on the 1st of October last?

Mr. PRINCE. I do not think I have it here at present.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. I was trying to get that information, and I did not know but the gentleman might have it.

Mr. PRINCE. I may have it, but I do not now recall it.

Mr. HARDY. About \$18,000,000,000.

Mr. HILL of Connecticut. Has the gentleman given consideration to all phases of the subject of the "equitable distribution" of deposits? Of course the gentleman does not want to be unjust to the Secretary of the Treasury. What is an equitable distribution? Does it mean that you shall take out of the commercial assets or funds of the city of New York, where three-quarters of the duties are paid, a proportionate amount of that money? Does it mean that as fast as the Treasury receives that money it shall distribute it in other parts of the country? Or does "equitably" mean that the money shall be deposited where it is collected or that it is to be deposited regardless of where it is collected, according to population or area or in some other way? I think the gentleman would say that it would be wholly unjust to take the money that is collected in the city of Chicago, for instance, in the way of customs, or in Peoria in internal revenue, and take that money away and distribute it and then compel those persons who are engaged in the transaction of business which requires the use of that money daily to pay for shipping it back again. Has the gentleman taken that into consideration?

Mr. PRINCE. I have meant to show this, that the national banking act, page 58, chapter 11, provides that—

All national banking associations designated for that purpose by the Secretary of the Treasury shall be depositories of public money, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary.

There is not a word as to equitable distribution there. That is what I am contending against.

Mr. HILL of Connecticut. There is in the law passed last year.

Mr. PRINCE. Providing for equitable distribution?

Mr. HILL of Connecticut. Yes.

Mr. PRINCE. But he observes it in his own way, as he sees fit.

Mr. HILL of Connecticut. And let me say that there has been a commission appointed by the Treasury Department, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, which has under consideration the question of what is an "equitable" distribution, and what it means.

Mr. PRINCE. Has that commission come to any conclusion yet?

Mr. HILL of Connecticut. I do not think they have made any report as yet, but the construction of those words "equitable distribution" is being considered, as to whether it means equitably in accordance with population or equitably on the basis of where it is collected.

Mr. PRINCE. I understand that, and the Fowler bill—

Mr. HILL of Connecticut. Until a conclusion is reached by that commission it strikes me it is hardly fair to blame the Secretary of the Treasury for depositing the money where it is received.

Mr. PRINCE. Would you stand up and defend the Secretary of the Treasury, or any executive official of any kind, in giving to one bank in the city of New York over \$17,000,000 as against the whole great State of Illinois \$13,000,000?

Mr. HILL of Connecticut. That would depend entirely on whether \$50,000,000 or \$75,000,000 had been collected in the city of New York from internal revenue and customs during the preceding week and a very much less amount had been collected in the State of Illinois, and it would also depend on another feature of the case, and that is whether the Illinois banks were ready to put up the bonds to take the deposits.

Now, the gentleman can take for an example the city of Peoria, which has an extremely large internal-revenue collection. I think it would be found almost impossible for the Peoria banks to secure bonds enough to put up security for all of the deposits of the internal-revenue payments in that city. All of these things must be taken into consideration by the Secretary, and the Secretary has gone to work since the passage of the law of last year and appointed a commission. They have been considering it, and the Comptroller of the Currency, coming from Illinois, is a member of that commission which is to determine what is a proper construction of that word "equitable," and I think the Secretary of the Treasury is entitled to immunity from criticism until that committee reports.

Mr. PRINCE. That might be so if House Document No. 714 did not disclose that in the city of New York on the 31st of December, 1907, there were \$87,189,132.87 of the Government money in the different banks, as against \$13,000,000 in Illinois. I commend to the committee a careful reading of Document 714, submitted by the Secretary of the Treasury under date of February 27, 1908, to the House. I think you will find a good deal of valuable information in it. You will find that in the District of Columbia, where no business, practically, is done, where apparently there seems to be no reason for any great amount of money, on December 31, 1907, the banks had \$4,804,574.73, and that one bank, not distinctly related to some I have referred to had \$1,653,000 on hand, where there was no business whatever. If that is an equitable distribution, I think it is time that the Secretary of the Treasury and the commission got busy and made a report.

Mr. HAYES rose.

Mr. PRINCE. Now, I want to say this, and then I will yield to the gentleman. The Fowler bill puts it beyond question. That bill provides that it shall not have and keep on deposit in any one national bank an amount of money greater than 50 per cent of the capital thereof deposited in any national depository, and in that way there would be an equitable distribution, because equity means doing justice by forty-six States in the Union instead of doing a little overjustice to one State and the District of Columbia. [Applause.] Now I will yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. HAYES. Does not the gentleman think he has done the Secretary of the Treasury an injustice in this—that it has been the policy of all modern Secretaries of the Treasury, at least since I have known anything about the operations of the United States Treasury, to place money where it was most needed during such times and such disturbances as we had from October to January last? I think possibly the gentleman may have lost sight of the fact that New York City was the

place where the greatest need was in the view of the Secretary, and that therefore he sent the largest amount of money to that place.

Mr. PRINCE. Well, let us look at that. That is a very proper suggestion and a question worthy of the consideration of the committee and the country. To the city of New York had gone the money from the different banks throughout the country. It had been sent there for speculative purposes, until there had been piled up in that city about the time of the financial trouble the reserve money of different banks throughout the country. There had been poured into the banks about one hundred millions of Government money. They had a large amount of the reserve money on hand, and there was a call on these institutions to send back into the interior some of the money it needed for current purposes. The truth is that the working balance of the Government at one time was reduced to about two and one-half millions of dollars, and it had been so very generous to others that it was almost in distress itself for means to carry on the business of the country and pay its running expenses. The money was called for, and the banks in New York City refused to send the money, refused to hand back the money that belonged to the people, refused to send it back to the banks that placed it there as a reserve, and refused to send it back to the Government, if the Government saw fit to ask for the money. Instead thereof the banks issued clearing-house certificates and handed these evidences of indebtedness to the people to be used by them as best they could in these times. They held on to the actual cash. What did they do with it?

They either themselves, directly or through their friends, used this actual cash, went into the market and bought the stocks at slaughtered prices. Does anyone deny it? If there is one, let him stand up here. Without a question these banks, holding the money that belonged to others, refusing to give them the money, issuing in place thereof their promise to pay, took the identical money, went out into the street, and bought the stocks at slaughtered prices and made an enormous amount of profit out of it. That was the condition of the country at that time, and in the train of such conduct followed woe, bankruptcy, ruin, suicide, and death, and I do not think the whole train is yet over, so far as the country is concerned.

Mr. GAINES of West Virginia. Do I understand the gentleman to say that the New York banks, when they were refusing to pay to their depositors the money of those depositors on their checks, were using that money to speculate with themselves?

Mr. PRINCE. I have not any doubt of it, sir.

Mr. GAINES of West Virginia. Is that merely a theory, or is it a fact?

Mr. PRINCE. The gentleman will be kind enough—

Mr. GAINES of West Virginia. I only asked the question because it seems to me that it is the duty of the officers who have charge of those things to proceed against any such banks and take away their charter, if such is the fact.

Mr. PRINCE. If the gentleman will be kind enough to look at these documents I have called attention to, he will see the class of securities and the kind of stuff that many of these banks to which I have referred had their money locked up in at that time and were buying; and from newspaper reports I found that when a resolution of inquiry along that line was offered in another body it was promptly sidetracked, because it would open up and show to this country the condition of affairs. That is the reason why I am one of those who believe it would be proper for this House to have a resolution of inquiry along that line.

I am frank to say that, in my judgment, observing the management of these banks, they have been, some of them, mismanaged, and I am frank to say that the Government inspection, through its bank examiners, is practically the same as worthless, because if there had been a genuine, thorough, and honest examination of banking, no such tale of woe, no such tale of mismanagement would have occurred as has just been chronicled in the courts of the city of Chicago, and a man who is aged and bent would not be to-day heading his way toward prison, for by proper investigation and management he would have been stopped. And I want to say further that the bill that I am seeking to advocate within my time is one that puts a stop to all such things as that and, beyond peradventure, saves the country and the banks and the depositors from any such mismanagement as has taken place in this country.

Mr. HAYES. Mr. Chairman, I have no wish to contest the gentleman's statement that many of these banks were mismanaged, or anything of that kind, but along the line of my former suggestion I want to ask if it is not true that in the city of Chicago there was less trouble during the recent so-called "panic" than in any other great city in the United States?

Mr. PRINCE. I think that is true.

Mr. HAYES. And if that be true, was not the Secretary of the Treasury justified in sending less money there than he sent to places where there was greater need, greater trouble?

Mr. PRINCE. No; I do not think so.

Mr. HAYES. I do.

Mr. PRINCE. Because, speaking for my own country, in the city where I live, a city of 25,000 people, our bankers never put a white flag over the banks. They paid all comers and goers, and if other banks had done likewise the country would have been better off, and instead of these clearing-house certificates, which were nothing more nor less than a red flag to the people, a note of distress—which, in my judgment, ought to be assessed a 10 per cent tax, for they were in the nature of notes, and I commend that suggestion to the Department of Justice, that they proceed along that line—I say in that section of the country because the people and the interior banks relieved them largely from that trouble was one of the reasons that Chicago was able to do what she did. But what can be said for poor Kansas City?

Mr. HAUGEN. Is it not a fact that a single dollar could not be gotten in New York without paying a premium, and that the money was carted into Wall street, and it was there for speculation and disposed of at a premium, and if the country banks got any money at all they had to pay a premium?

Mr. PRINCE. I have so understood. I have understood this, that a bank that had some money on deposit in one of those banks, when it called for \$100,000 of its own money, was required to pay a premium of \$3,000 in order to get it. I have not a doubt of that in my own mind; but if the gentleman were to ask me for proof, perhaps I could not give the specific instance.

Mr. HAUGEN. I have positive knowledge of the fact. I know they charged as much as 4½ per cent premium, and if you were to get the money at all you would have to pay from 3 to 4½ per cent premium. They paid but a small per cent of the amount called for.

Mr. PRINCE. Does the gentleman mean to say that a bank or individual that had money in those banks in calling for his own individual money was required to pay a premium in order to get his own money?

Mr. HAUGEN. Not a premium to the bank. He had to go to the broker, and the supposition is that the broker got the money from the bank.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman from Illinois allow me to ask the gentleman from Iowa a question?

Mr. PRINCE. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. Do I understand the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HAUGEN] to say that he has positive knowledge of specific instances where premiums were collected on moneys that were drawn from banks owned by those wishing to withdraw them?

Mr. HAUGEN. I get my information from reliable parties who have large pay rolls, for instance, and had money deposited in the banks. They demanded their money and were unable to get a single dollar of it. In order to get money and in order to pay their men they had to go and pay a premium on the amount of money they needed.

Mr. MADDEN. The gentleman says that he is making the statement from his knowledge of the situation. I do not believe it is fair to make any such statement as that to the country on hearsay.

Mr. HAUGEN. I have stated that the premium was not paid to the bank. It was paid to the brokers, and that was the only place where money could be obtained.

Mr. MADDEN. Why should a broker be able to get money out of the bank when you could not get it yourself?

Mr. HAUGEN. The broker, of course, gets his money from the bank.

Mr. GRONNA. May I ask the gentleman a question?

Mr. PRINCE. I yield.

Mr. GRONNA. I would like to ask the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] if he had any experience in banking during this crisis and if he had an account with the New York banks and whether he was permitted or not to draw his money?

Mr. MADDEN. I have had experience with banks in all sections of the country, and I want to say to the gentleman that no person could get all the money that he wanted during the crisis to which he now refers. But I know of no case where any person was obliged to pay any commission whatever for any money that he secured from any bank.

Mr. HAUGEN and Mr. KENNEDY of Iowa rose.

Mr. PRINCE. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to yield further.

Mr. HILL of Connecticut. Will the gentleman permit me to ask him a question?



Mr. PRINCE. Inasmuch as I have refused these gentlemen, I could not yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. HILL of Connecticut. I do not want the gentleman to bear too hard on the consciences of some of the banks in New York. Some of them did their duty, and are almost entitled to the credit of being heroes during this panic.

Mr. PRINCE. I spoke of one bank, and then the gentleman forced me to go outside, and then I included the amount that was there on deposit. I have not singled out any bank specially, and do not want to do so. In fact, I do not think it is proper for a gentleman who is entitled to the floor to attack anyone outside that has no means of answering upon the floor. I think it is only parliamentary to attack a Member or someone that has a right to the floor, but it would be almost unpardonable, as I take it, on my part to assault anyone who has not the right of the floor, in order to answer me on the floor, and if I have been drawn into that I am going to modify my speech to that extent.

Mr. HILL of Connecticut. May I ask the gentleman to modify it to this extent: To take the document to which he referred a moment ago, and which was lying on the desk in front of him, but which I do not see now, which is the report of the Secretary in regard to the proceedings of the Treasury during the panic, and which shows that at the close of the panic, the banks of New York City, after having taken in \$100,000,000 in gold from Europe, and in addition having issued a large amount of circulation, found themselves stripped of all of that and a good deal more, too, because they had sent it out to the country banks. They are entitled to that fair statement, and I ask the gentleman to embody in his remarks the statement taken direct from the report of the Secretary of the Treasury as to just the condition of the New York banks before the panic and the condition they were in afterwards.

Mr. PRINCE. There is no question that they paid some of the money, and it may be along the line as suggested by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HAUGEN], that they could get a good round premium when they sent that money out, and quite likely they did, or they would not have done it, perhaps.

Mr. McMILLAN. Will the gentleman yield to a banker to ask him a question?

Mr. PRINCE. Yes; if the gentleman will give me longer time.

Mr. McMILLAN. Does the gentleman know on what basis of value or security a clearing-house certificate is granted?

Mr. PRINCE. Yes. The different banks that enter into the clearing-house district are required to furnish ample security before certificates are issued to them.

Mr. McMILLAN. Does not the gentleman know that that is the best security that is obtainable for a loan?

Mr. PRINCE. There is no doubt about that.

Mr. McMILLAN. Why, then, would you object to the United States taking that in lieu of its loan when it is really the representation of the bone and sinew in the construction of our country? I am connected with four banks. I have paid out the largest pay roll in the last three months of any man on this floor, and I have never had to pay one cent of shave for the money whereby to pay my men, and everything I am connected with has paid every just demand for labor. If a man wanted to go to Wall street he could not get a dollar.

Mr. PRINCE. I am willing to answer questions, but I can not have the gentleman inject a speech into my remarks. There is no question but that the gentleman is correct in his statement that the basis on which clearing-house certificates are issued is of the very best kind. And along that same line comes the theory of the credit currency, that the commercial credit of the country is of the very best kind, and this only tends to prove the position we take in favor of a credit currency, only demonstrating beyond the possibility of a doubt that it is the best basis for the credit currency.

We know that the chairman of the committee [Mr. FOWLER], in season and out of season, for years and years, has been contending that this basis for clearing-house issues would be a good basis for credit currency, not asset currency, that had near by the touchstone of redemption which he provides for in his measure.

There are two schools of finance, as we observe it, in the bills that have been presented in this House and Congress. One honestly, intelligently, and patriotically—I am not criticising them for this—for a bond-based currency; the other does not believe in a bond-based currency. The people are divided upon that question; financiers are divided; we are in doubt upon that question. Is there any way that we can settle it? Is there anything to turn to to determine our policy? Take the history of the commercial countries of the world. Take the fact that the

first-class commercial countries to-day on the globe outside of the United States have a credit currency. Is it not notice enough that there is something solid in the position that these countries take, and is it not ground, at least, of admonition to some people that there is some reason, some basis for the credit currency that is being advocated by the advocates of the Fowler measure? On one side stands part of the people of the United States; on the other side stands part of the people of the United States and all the balance of the commercial world. Where is the heavy artillery, where the strength of the business interests of the world, where the financial knowledge of men who are dealing with this question? Is it for bond issue and bond currency, or is it for credit currency with which the commercial countries agree?

Let us follow this bond-based currency a while. When did it start? Did we have it prior to the war? Partly, and partly not. That which we have that was bond based, the notes failed. That which was based upon the credit currency, like the Suffolk Bank system in New England, like the great Bank of Louisiana, never failed, but met their notes; and long after the war, when property was destroyed, when the bonds of the Confederacy went to pieces, when its government notes went to pieces, the State Bank of Louisiana, that had issued its notes, paid every one of them 100 cents on the dollar. Is that knowledge enough to cause people to open their eyes as to what are the facts of history of this country and the commercial countries of the world?

We went upon bond-based currency in stress of war, which currency during the war was worth but very little on the dollar.

We have pending in this House, and I read by the papers there is pending elsewhere, a bill to enlarge the bond-secured currency. The purpose of that bill is to add to the United States Government bonds State bonds, city bonds, municipal bonds, and bonds that are created by districts, like the drainage district, if you please, of the city of Chicago; like drainage districts throughout the country, or sanitary districts or any kind of a public district that is acting as a sovereign power and had given to it the right to issue bonds. That is to be the basis, with proper limitations, upon which to issue currency with a tax upon it. They say that currency based upon these bonds are of stable value and will be universally accepted, because there is something back of them, a bond which means something. Of these men I am not here to complain to any great extent. I do not think it is based upon the proper basis for a currency that will expand and enlarge and recede as business demands. I further notice that many of these bonds go down in value. I also notice in addition to that there has come to be a new school of financiers, who believe that these bonds should be added to. They say that if the whole sovereign power issues a bond and that is good as a basis of currency, that an integral part of the sovereign power when it issues a bond, it ought to be good enough to be used as a basis of currency when it meets the requirements of the law.

So that when you resolve it down to a bond that is issued by the sovereign power of the people, either an integral part of the whole or the whole, there may be some good reason for that kind of security. We meet with another school that goes this school a little better and wants to add to these sovereign bonds issued by the sovereign power, having the whole country back of it, having the taxing power of the people back of it, either the whole or an integral part, railroad bonds and interurban bonds.

Mr. MADDEN. I will say for the information of the gentleman that the bill has been amended by striking out railroad bonds.

Mr. PRINCE. When has it been amended?

Mr. MADDEN. To-day.

Mr. PRINCE. I have just been informed by my colleague, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN], one of the ablest and best men in the House, that that against which I am now contending has gone out of the bill, showing that if that action has been taken, they have acted wisely in that regard, at least to that extent.

Mr. MADDEN. To a slight degree.

Mr. PRINCE. To a slight degree; and yet they are moving along sane lines in taking out bonds which, during the panic we have been passing through, were reduced in value from 10 to 50 points from August up to the 1st of January of this year. I am glad to say that they have gone out, and I am inclined to think that more things will go out before the bill receives the signature of the President of the United States.

Mr. ADAIR. I should like to ask the gentleman, if it is true that these bonds have gone out, is it not a fact that all of the

bill has gone out, because there will not be a sufficient amount of other bonds to put up as security for the amount of currency to be issued?

Mr. PRINCE. I am very glad the gentleman asked me that question. I was coming to that in the discussion. I have been sitting for two or three years at the feet of the financial Gamaliel of this House, my colleague, the chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. FOWLER], have been reading much and have heard much from him. And in the course of the discussion and in the course of the reading I have wondered why it was that these latter bonds, which, according to rumor, have gone out of the Senate bill, were ever even considered as worthy of being a part of a financial measure. I read and studied, and finally found a distinguished statesman who had given utterance to this expression, that these bonds were included because the Secretary of the Treasury, under the law, had a right to use them for the purpose of securing the deposits of public money. Let us see what that is. On page 59 of the law I read this:

The Secretary of the Treasury shall require the association thus designated, being a depository, to give satisfactory security by the deposit of United States bonds and otherwise for the safe-keeping and prompt payment of the money deposited.

Mr. ADAIR. Now, I want to ask the gentleman if the Secretary of the Treasury has not been striking out the word "and" and inserting the word "or?"

Mr. PRINCE. As to that, Mr. Chairman, I do not know by what authority the Secretary of the Treasury or any other executive officer has the right to change any law enacted by Congress and signed by the Executive. I think it is high time that the law be obeyed by everybody and not changed by anybody.

Mr. ADAIR. I mean has he not in fact done it without asking any authority?

Mr. PRINCE. That is a question that the gentleman can answer as well as I can. The theory upon which bonds of this kind were accepted was that the law permitted it under the words "United States bonds and otherwise." I have not looked closely, so therefore I would not dare say. It may be that he would accept one Government bond for a hundred dollars and the balance in chips and whetstones to come under the words "and otherwise." I do not suppose he would dare go to the extent of having no United States bonds, and accept nothing but chips and whetstones and all kinds of other things, as you will see they have been accepting as security, if you will look at the report, to which I have heretofore referred.

They may be ample, they may be secure, but I am calling the attention of the House for the purpose of showing that one statesman expressed the views that that was the justification, or at least the semblance of justification, for including that kind of bond as a basis for circulation.

Mr. HINSHAW. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PRINCE. I will.

Mr. HINSHAW. As I understand it, and I will ask the gentleman if it is true, the chief difference between the bond-secured proposition and the Fowler bill is that in the bond-secured proposition these various kinds of bonds may be put up for the issuance of currency, whereas in the Fowler proposition there is no security whatever except the reserve fund in gold. What other difference is there, if the gentleman will state?

Mr. PRINCE. I am coming to that. If the gentleman will allow me to proceed along the line I am now on, I will answer him, and if I do not the gentleman can remind me of it before I close. I further read where another statesman has said—

That there were not enough State, county, town and other municipal bonds in sufficient number and amount to afford a basis for the superstructure such as was needed for the issuance of five hundred million additional emergency currency.

That, in substance, is the question of the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. ADAIR]. It was feared that if the additional emergency currency was limited to this class of bonds that a corner could be engineered upon them to the detriment of the country. I was inclined to believe there was great force in the argument. I read on, and later I found it stated by this same statesman "that there were over two thousand million dollars of these kinds of bonds now in existence that could be used for the purpose of issuing additional currency."

After reading this last statement I was clearly convinced that there was no shadow of reason—mark what I say—no shadow of reason why railroad bonds or street-car bonds should be had as a basis for currency. I am inclined to think that these last-mentioned bonds should have no place as a basis for currency, and the purpose of their being included is for some purpose other than being needed as a basis for currency circu-

lation. I have wondered if there were not a little curly-headed fellow in the woodpile and if he were there for speculative purposes.

Mr. ADAIR. Will the gentleman give the name of this statesman?

Mr. PRINCE. I can not give the gentleman's name, but he says there were not enough of the bonds, and further on in the article he said there were two thousand million of these bonds, ample to base currency upon.

Now, this statesman was a gentleman familiar with the bill, and these are excerpts from remarks made elsewhere. I am speaking of what was in the newspaper. This gentleman, a member of the committee who framed the bill, gave as a reason that there were not enough of the bonds, and then stated that there were two thousand million dollars of them that could be used under the provisions of the bill. Now, if two thousand millions could be used under the provisions of the bill, will you tell me how many thousand millions could be used as the country develops, as towns and districts are growing, and as additional bonds would be issued from time to time to meet the current expenses and indebtedness of the country?

Now, I seem to be arguing and discussing a horse that is dead and gone. I congratulate the country that it has been stricken from the measure and that the country will now be presented with a different proposition; but to that amended proposition I am not much more favorably inclined than I was to it along the line it was first presented, except that one of the worst features has gone out of the bill as reported by my colleague.

What is the other currency feature? It is that which is advocated by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. FOWLER], and I name him because the bill is known by his name, and what, in substance, is it? He believes not in asset currency, but he believes in a credit currency. He believes that a bank should be permitted to issue currency upon the credits in a bank—a book credit, if you please, deposits—and when a person asks for money or credits or currency, that he can have either that he sees fit, and when the bank issues its currency notes, they go out into circulation. Now comes the question of the gentleman from Nebraska—

Mr. HINSHAW. I am not in favor of the so-called "Aldrich bill" as at present constructed. I do not want the inference to be drawn that I am. But outside of the assets of the bank proper, the assets the bank has within its vaults, what other security is there for the issuance of currency under the Fowler bill than the gold reserve?

Mr. PRINCE. That is right. That is a good proposition. That is a fair question. The gentleman asks me this. He says, under the bond-secured currency, before currency can issue a bond must be purchased or borrowed by the bank that seeks to issue the currency, and that bond, either purchased or borrowed, must be taken by the bank that wants the currency and given to the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Secretary of the Treasury holds in the vault the bonds, and he hands out the currency, and the currency in circulation is secured by the bond that is held by the Secretary of the Treasury. Now, you ask me what are the provisions of the Fowler bill on this question. The Fowler bill issues currency, and the gentleman asks me if there is any security placed in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury. I answer you, "No." Then you say, "Will the holder of that kind of a note that has no security in the hands of the Government find that it is as good in his hands as that which is based on a bond which the Government holds to secure the note in hand?" I say, "Yes; it is just as good."

Mr. HILL of Connecticut. And better.

Mr. PRINCE. And better. You ask how that apparent paradoxical statement is true. Let me answer. The Fowler bill permits the bank to issue, under certain conditions, a note. That note is handed to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. HINSHAW]. That note in the hands of the gentleman from Nebraska calls for gold or lawful money. He can turn around a minute after he gets it and go to Mr. FOWLER, whose bank issued it, and say, "Give me gold for that note," and Mr. FOWLER hands it out. He can call for lawful money. Mr. FOWLER hands it out. Mr. FOWLER has made provision in that bill that the country of the United States shall be divided into twenty zones or territories, for the purpose of the convenience of redemption, and that there shall be a city within each one of those zones, where every bank that does business within that zone has money on hand to redeem its note in gold or lawful money. Mr. FOWLER, when he starts that kind of a bank, must keep within his own bank gold or lawful money to meet his issued note, which you have, or he has to have money in the bank where Mr. SPERRY is president, which is the redemption



bank—he has to keep money there, either gold or lawful money; so that if the note that you present gets into the bank of Mr. SPERRY, he will redeem it in gold or lawful money. Now, what is lawful money? Not national-bank notes, not this kind of notes, not gold certificates or silver certificates in the sense of law, but gold or silver or United States notes. The bond-secured currency has to be redeemed. The redeemer of bond-secured currency is the Government of the United States. You can take your national-bank note and exchange it for lawful money. You can take that lawful money to the Treasury of the United States and demand gold. You have a way to start the endless chain and bring the gold out of the Treasury to redeem your notes, and to-day there is placed upon the Government of the United States the burden of redeeming all greenbacks, of redeeming the silver and keeping it at a parity with gold, of redeeming the Treasury notes, of redeeming the United States notes, the greenbacks, of redeeming the present volume of 695,000,000 of national-bank notes; and if 500,000,000, or a billion more are issued by this so-called "emergency bill," you pile a billion more upon the gold that the Government has to maintain, and you start to running the endless chain that will force this Government to sell bonds in time of peace to keep our money at a parity.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman let me ask him a question?

Mr. PRINCE. Let me finish this. Does the Government agree to redeem the notes in the Fowler bill? No. Is there any further security? Yes. Five per cent of the deposits in his bank, taking the preceding six months—5 per cent of the circulation of all banks, of all the national banks, of the deposits in all the national banks—5 per cent of the deposits, 5 per cent of the notes, and 2 per cent of a tax while these notes are in circulation is placed in a fund to guarantee the prompt redemption of the notes so issued.

The burden of keeping the gold for redeeming the notes is upon Mr. FOWLER, not upon the Government. What would be the effect of his bill if it went into operation? There would be just two kinds of money and currency. The Government would go back to its original position and coin money and regulate the value thereof. It would have specie as money. The bank would then issue through banking operations the currency that would meet the demands of the people, and when the time came for the demand to cease the notes would go back into banks and cease to be in circulation.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. PRINCE. I would like to have a little more time.

Mr. KEIFER. Mr. Chairman, I yield twenty minutes more to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PRINCE].

Mr. PRINCE. The 5 per cent on the deposit notes, the 5 per cent on the notes, and the tax on the notes added together the first year would bring in \$25,000,000. It is pretty hard to keep all of these figures in my head.

You ask if that is ample to redeem notes and pay depositors. That is a guaranty fund for the payment of the notes, for the payment of the depositors. The depositors are of three kinds: First, the individual depositor; second, the bank that deposits, and third, the Government deposits. Now, is this ample to meet all the requirements? It looks like a pretty large sum. How much is there? There might possibly be issued a billion dollars of this kind of circulation. The deposits in the savings banks, State banks, and national banks all together would be thirteen billion. There is fourteen billion. Would that be ample, asks the "Doubting Thomas?" Would that fund be ample to meet this great demand? Would 5 per cent be ample to meet it? The fund would eventually amount to about seven hundred million. The only way I can answer that is by showing what is the fact, what is the history of our country upon that question.

Let us go to 1873. I do not want to take the good years. I want to take the worst years this country has had, and that is the way to prove the case. If you can not prove it by the worst years, you ought not to try to prove it by the best years. Here is the report of the Comptroller of the Currency as to the losses of depositors in national banks, beginning with the year 1865 and ending with the year 1905. Let us take the panic of 1873. There were eleven banks that failed. For all the deposits of every kind and character, including individual deposits, including Government deposits, a tax of two-tenths or a trifle over two-tenths of 1 per cent on all the deposits would have met all the losses. And yet the Fowler bill provides a tax of 5 per cent. A tax of two-tenths of 1 per cent would have met all the losses of all the depositors of every kind and character, according to the report of the Comptroller of the Currency, in the bad year of 1873, when eleven banks failed. Is that a sufficient answer that the fund is large enough? Let us go a little further. Let us take another year that is even worse than that, if you please.

Let us take the year of 1893. There were fifty-one bank failures in that year. A tax of twenty-four one-hundredths of 1 per cent on all the deposits in all the banks would have paid all the losses of all depositors, including Government deposits, for the year 1893, the worst year this country has had so far as bank failures are concerned, since 1865. The panic of this year does not at all compare with it. Very few banks failed during this panic.

Mr. GAINES of West Virginia. May I ask the gentleman a question?

Mr. PRINCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. GAINES of West Virginia. Is there any limit in the plan the gentleman favors on the amount of notes that the bank may issue?

Mr. PRINCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. GAINES of West Virginia. What is that limitation?

Mr. PRINCE. To its paid-up capital, and then if the board of managers in the zone see fit, and there is necessity for it, they can increase it, say, 100 per cent.

Mr. GAINES of West Virginia. Is it taxed?

Mr. PRINCE. It is taxed; and a deposit has to be put up against it.

Mr. GAINES of West Virginia. That is a guaranty fund, but not an emergency tax.

Mr. PRINCE. There is a reserve against it. We do not claim it is an emergency currency at all. I am frank to say to the gentleman that the moment the Congress of the United States proceeds to deliberately pass a bill that indicates its currency is not sound, that it has to have an emergency currency, it hoists a red flag over the Capitol and gives notice to the whole world that we can not depend upon our currency, that it is unsound somewhere, and we must have an emergency currency.

Is it not a very fine thing for the United States to put over the Capitol the red flag of distress when there is no need for it? I want to say, gentlemen, that there is ample money and currency to do the business of the country. There are \$35.54 for each man, woman, and child in the United States, every dollar of which is worth 100 cents—twice as much as we had when we had greenbackism so rampant in our country.

Mr. PUJO. I understand the gentleman from Illinois advocates that feature of the bill guaranteeing deposits?

Mr. PRINCE. I do, sir.

Mr. PUJO. I understand that the deposits in all the banks, national, State, and savings banks, approximate thirteen billions, do they not?

Mr. PRINCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. PUJO. And the money will approximate something like three billions?

Mr. PRINCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. PUJO. Then you would have \$10,000,000,000 on which to guarantee deposits that is nothing except a book credit guaranteed in the banks of this country?

Mr. PRINCE. Yes; I would have the deposits guaranteed.

Mr. PUJO. Is that a guaranty of deposits or a guaranty of ten-thirteenths of the credit represented by giving to some one credit in the bank of an amount for which he has made his note?

Mr. PRINCE. The chances are the bookkeeping would have to be readjusted so as to show the actual deposit, instead of having a lot of paper credit.

Mr. PUJO. Is not your argument in favor of guaranteeing the deposits in its last analysis that the Government of the United States supervises the bank, so that the depositors are given some measure of protection, because the inspectors go over the books, and that holds out under the law the safety of the depositors and those who do business with the national banks? Would not the same reason apply to one who would invest in a railroad bond, that his investment should likewise be protected?

Mr. PRINCE. I think not.

Mr. PUJO. Do we not regulate railways? Have we not an Interstate Commerce Commission?

Mr. PRINCE. I have answered you frankly; I answered that I am in favor of guaranteeing the deposits. That ought to be sufficient. Then let me go on and sustain my position.

Mr. PUJO. One more question.

Mr. PRINCE. Please let me go on.

Mr. PUJO. In support of another feature.

Mr. PRINCE. I must decline, because I have answered your question frankly. I do not believe in dodging any question. Now, on the question of deposits, let us see what shape we are in. Here are banks in the State of Illinois, a State bank on one corner and on the other corner is a national bank. When a man takes his money and puts it in the national bank, if he

deposits \$100 in the bank the banker is required to keep \$15 reserve against that \$100. If his neighbor takes \$100 and puts it in a State bank of the State of Illinois the banker does not have to keep a penny as a reserve on that \$100 deposit.

Mr. MADDEN. Is my colleague quite sure about that?

Mr. PRINCE. I am quite sure, because a recent statement of the Comptroller of the Currency said that up to January 1, 1908, that was the law in Illinois.

Mr. MADDEN. The State banks do keep 25 per cent reserve, as a matter of fact.

Mr. PRINCE. As a matter of fact, they may do one thing, but as a matter of law they are not required to do it. And this is what you have. You will have the strong national or State bank holding up the weak State bank. Let me say to you that the first bank to put the white flag of surrender over its building was not a national bank.

Talk about your depositors, what security have they now? You take the State banks of Illinois, the third State in the Union, having within its limits the second city. Have those State banks a legal reserve? Not a penny have they to keep as reserve for any hundred dollars that may be deposited. The people of the country do not distinguish between a State and a national bank, and if there is a run on one of these banks and it fails, there is going to be a run on the other banks; and it is the strong national and State bank that has to come to the support of the weak State bank. It is the strong banks of the country that sustain the weaker banks. The strength of your chain is the weakest link in the chain. The State banking institutions are not required to keep a penny of reserve.

Mr. COLE. Has there been any experience in the history of any of the States on the subject of insuring deposits, levying a tax for that purpose?

Mr. PRINCE. As to that I can not answer.

Mr. COLE. And if so, has it been successful?

Mr. PRINCE. I am unable to answer that; but let me read this:

Reserves of banks and trust companies required by the laws of the different States down to January 1, 1908:  
Illinois, no reserve requirement.

That ought to be clear enough.

Mr. HILL of Connecticut. Does not the gentleman know it to be a fact that the strongest bank in the world, the Bank of France, has no reserve requirement, but that it keeps the largest reserve of any bank in the world?

Mr. PRINCE. That is a central bank, and they operate in a different way than our State banks. Let us confine ourselves to the question at issue. I am talking about the banks of this country. There is a report here and a criticism of this bill by a gentleman, who, in my judgment, is the equal of any gentleman who sits on the floor of this House, and who has no superior in either branch of Congress, a man who has given you in his minority views the most succinct, the most telling, the strongest reasons that can be urged against the Fowler bill. I refer to my distinguished colleague and friend, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BURTON], and I commend his report to your reading. Now, what does he say on page 3, as to this question of a currency:

It may be conceded that this is the most correct principle for the issuance of currency.

What does he say on page 5:

Again, it should be noted that this measure does not contemplate the guaranty of deposits in savings banks, where the depositor is most liable to imposition, and where his loss would be most severely felt.

Have I put it too strongly myself? If I have, I am buttressed by a gentleman in whose judgment I have great confidence, and whose judgment is correct so far as that statement is concerned.

And let me go a little further. I read in the public press that one of the ablest and most erudite members of another body said that if we were to change our currency and were to start anew, most assuredly, to use his expression, the kind of currency we now have is the worst kind we could have.

Mr. VREELAND. I assume that the gentleman from Illinois favors the passage of the Fowler bill.

Mr. PRINCE. I do.

Mr. VREELAND. I assume from his argument that he thinks that State banks and savings banks and trust companies should be required by law to maintain an adequate reserve.

Mr. PRINCE. I do.

Mr. VREELAND. Will the gentleman explain to the committee how the Fowler bill will compel the maintaining of proper reserves by these classes of banks?

Mr. PRINCE. As to that, I can only say that, in my judgment, if the Fowler bill becomes a law, if the deposits of the depositor are guaranteed by these banks, as there is an ample fund to do, the chances are ninety-nine out of a hundred that

the men who have money to deposit will deposit it in places where they know it is absolutely safe and where they can get it, rather than take any chances in putting it where they may or may not get it when they call for it; and I am inclined to think, and it is the theory of the bill, that these other banks in time will come under this system, and we will have one uniform general system, which will be under supervision and control and which will be managed in a way that no losses can occur to a depositor, a note holder, or anyone interested therein.

Mr. VREELAND. There are some 600 savings banks in New York and New England that are purely mutual, in which there is no stock, and it is evident that it would be impossible for them to turn into the national system. Will the gentleman explain what would become of those banks, with their two and a half billions of deposits and their two and a half millions of depositors?

Mr. PRINCE. So far as that is concerned, we have nothing to do with the savings banks in this bill. Those are excepted and are no part of this measure. I am inclined to think that if it should turn out that it is better to keep them, they will remain.

Conditions will open up to show the way just as it has in all conditions of that kind. If they are perfectly safe, I should say by all means continue where they are.

Mr. VREELAND. Will the gentleman tell us if the system of guaranteed deposits by the Government—I understand it is not in terms a guaranteeing of deposits, but it practically amounts to that, compelling the banks to pay a certain sum to guarantee the depositors—if that system should prove to be what the author of the bill hopes it will be, could the great savings banks of the East, which are mutual in their form, live side by side with the banks whose deposits are guaranteed by the Government?

Mr. PRINCE. I wish to say that there is not a word, a syllable, or a line in this bill which places the burden of guaranteeing a penny upon the Government.

Mr. VREELAND. I just stated to the gentleman not in terms.

Mr. PRINCE. Then let us leave out the question of Government guaranteeing deposits.

Mr. VREELAND. Well, put it that the funds required by the Government to be deposited, and we still have the question under the system of guaranteeing deposits, Can the mutual savings banks which exist in such great number, having deposits running up into the millions, exist side by side with the banks whose deposits are guaranteed?

Mr. PRINCE. If it is in the interest of the depositor and for his safety to have his money placed in the national banks rather than in the other banks, would the gentleman from New York insist that he should not have his interests conserved?

Mr. HILL of Connecticut. Will the gentleman from Illinois allow me?

Mr. PRINCE. Certainly.

Mr. HILL of Connecticut. I am just as much opposed to guaranteeing deposits as is the gentleman from New York, but let us be fair. There is no relation between the bill which the gentleman has reported from the Committee on Banking and Currency and the mutual savings banks. My State has one hundred and eighty-five millions of deposits in the mutual savings banks, but the State steps in and says what kind of investments shall be made. They are not doing a commercial business like the banks to which the gentleman refers and to which the bill relates. It is entirely an independent proposition, and the gentlemen ought to except them, as the bill does except them. Why mix them up; let us meet the question fairly and squarely. It does not do any good to compare them to the savings banks, because it does not relate to them.

Mr. PRINCE. Let us not try to muddle the water; let us not try to play the cuttlefish and ink the waters to escape the issue. Let us meet the issue. I state frankly that I am for the measure. I believe it is the best measure of any proposed, and that it will work to the interest of the country better than any other. It will meet the desires of the people, and the deposits of the people are safe under this system. I know currency will enlarge and expand and recede as the business interests demand. I know that the burden of maintaining and keeping that currency at a parity with gold will be placed upon the banks and not upon the Government; and I know that by no possibility under the Fowler bill can the endless chain be operated as it was under the Administration of President Cleveland, forcing this country in a time of peace to issue bonds to maintain a gold reserve.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman tell us how the banks are going to get the gold to maintain the notes at a parity with gold?



Mr. PRINCE. It is easy enough to get it.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman tell us how?

Mr. PRINCE. There is plenty of gold. Let me say to my colleague that the annual output from the mines of the world is \$400,000,000. Seventy-five million dollars is used other than for coinage, and three hundred and twenty-five millions is added annually to the money coinage of the world. And let me say to the gentleman what occurs here in our own country. I have just received this from the Director of the Mint. The net excess of imports of gold over exports was \$114,334,643 for eight months last past.

Mr. OLLIE M. JAMES. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. PRINCE. In just a moment. I remember in the discussion of the money question in 1896 that we all thought if we could add to the currency of the country, to the gold, about fifty or sixty million dollars, it was ample to meet the needs of the country, and yet during eight months of this last year, a part of which was a panic time, there was added to the volume of the currency, gold, not silver—I can give you the silver also for the same time; the net of silver excess of imports over exports was fourteen million, and of gold one hundred and fourteen million.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. HARDY. I would like to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. PRINCE. I will be glad to answer it if the gentleman will give me more time. Can he not give me just three minutes?

Mr. KEIFER. I yield the gentleman three minutes more.

Mr. HARDY. Is not every central banking system known to civilization, where there is a central bank with branch banks under it, a system of mutual guaranty of deposits in another form?

Mr. PRINCE. Yes, in effect; and what we want to do—and I am glad the gentleman has brought that to my attention, for I have been deflected from the course of my remarks. Here are 6,000 and upward of individual banks, and they will be combined in these zones. They will have a voice in the selection of the managers, and these managers will be in charge of these zones. These will coordinate, these banks, in twenty places. The banks in this zone will be under the direction of the Comptroller of the Currency, and in these respective districts there is coordination of the various banks, and they stand united as one central bank, and yet each one of them is an entity, each one of them has an individual standing by itself, maintaining its individuality and its individual strength, but coordinated as one for the benefit of the whole country. And that is one of the best features of the bill, and I earnestly ask the committee to read this bill. I ask you to read the report, I ask you to read the minority views and their report, and I ask you to read the views of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BURTON]. Do not be carried off your feet by the wishes of anybody. Read these measures, and if they can not stand the test, do not vote for them. I say to you, if you will read them and study them, you will be convinced that this bill—the Fowler bill—is the correct principle; you will be convinced it is the one that you should vote for, and I would not be surprised in the slightest degree, if this House will read the measure, that they will stand for this bill so far as this House is concerned.

Mr. OLLIE M. JAMES. The gentleman tells us that if this bill passes it will make it impossible to issue bonds like Cleveland did. Cleveland issued bonds to get money in a depleted Treasury. Please inform the House what effect it will have upon the issuance of bonds like those issued under this Administration, to get money in the Treasury, when we had \$250,000,000 already there.

Mr. PRINCE. As to that I will say this: We had two hundred and forty millions—anyway, we had over two hundred millions—at the time that the Secretary, in his judgment, acting in good faith—no criticism of him in the slightest degree—thought it was wise to throw into the maelstrom in New York City an amount of money and stop, if he could, what appeared to be a panic, and I want to say that in those days he added \$40,000,000 to the bonded indebtedness of the United States between August 1 and January 1, 1908.

Mr. OLLIE M. JAMES. Why did not he go out and buy bonds instead of selling them? He had money enough to do it.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BOWERS. I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SULZER] such time as he may desire.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of the United Hatters of North America is of far-reaching importance and affects every workingman in our country. That decision practically holds that a labor organization is a trust and subject to the

provisions of the so-called "antitrust law." I do not think this was the intention of Congress when the act was passed; but be that as it may my judgment is that this decision should be given the widest possible publicity, with the comments of the leaders of organized labor, to the end that all may know. So, Mr. Chairman, I send to the Clerk's desk and ask to have read in my time a very able and exhaustive and lucid commentary on the decision by President Samuel Gompers, an editorial by him in the American Federationist, and the decision itself.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

[Editorial from American Federationist, by Samuel Gompers.]

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS MUST NOT BE OUTLAWED—THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION IN THE HATTERS' CASE.

On February 3, 1908, the Supreme Court issued the most drastic and far-reaching decision which it has ever handed down. This decision directly affects all labor, and hence the whole people. The case was that of the Loewe Company against The United Hatters of North America. The court invokes the Sherman antitrust law and under it decides that the Hatters are liable in damages according to the complaint of the Loewe Company. This action was first brought in the United States circuit court in the district of Connecticut under section 7 of the Sherman antitrust law. The lower court sustained the contention of the Hatters that they were not liable under the Sherman law.

The Loewe Company then carried the case by writ of error to the circuit court of appeals. The circuit court, desiring the instruction of the Supreme Court on the writ of error, put the question thus:

"Upon this state of facts can the plaintiffs (Loewe & Co.)<sup>a</sup> maintain an action against the defendants (Hatters) under section 7 of the Sherman antitrust law of July 2, 1890?"

The plaintiffs and defendants then joined in the application to the Supreme Court to require the whole record and cause to be sent up for its consideration. This application was granted.

The Supreme Court invoked not only section 7, but sections 1 and 2 of the Sherman antitrust act, and declared that: "In our opinion the combination described in the declaration (United Hatters) was a combination in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States in the sense in which those words are used in the act, and the action can be maintained accordingly."

The decree also states:

"And that conclusion rests on many judgments of this court to the effect that the act (Sherman antitrust) prohibits any combination whatever to secure action which essentially obstructs the free flow of commerce between the States, or restricts in that regard the liberty of a trader to engage in business."

"The combination charged (boycott by Hatters) falls within the class of restraints of trade aimed at compelling third parties and strangers involuntarily not to engage in the course of trade except on conditions that the combination (Hatters) imposes."

The sections of the Sherman antitrust law upon which the decision is based are as follows:

"SECTION 1. Every contract, combination, in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States or with foreign nations, is hereby declared to be illegal. Every person who shall make any such contract or engage in any such combination or conspiracy shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by fine not exceeding \$5,000, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments in the discretion of the court."

"SEC. 2. Every person who shall monopolize, or attempt to monopolize, or combine or conspire with any other person or persons to monopolize any part of trade or commerce among the several States or with foreign nations shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by fine not exceeding \$5,000, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments in the discretion of the court."

"SEC. 7. Any person who shall be injured in his business or property by any other person or corporation by reason of anything forbidden or declared to be unlawful by this act may sue therefor in any circuit court of the United States in the district in which the defendant resides or is found, without respect to the amount in controversy, and shall recover threefold the damages by him sustained and the costs of suit, including a reasonable attorney's fee."

We publish elsewhere in this issue the Supreme Court decision

<sup>a</sup> Parentheses and italics are ours in this editorial.

in full. The court attached the complaint of the plaintiffs in the margin of the decision, and it also quotes from their complaint in the body of the decision.

No more sweeping, far-reaching, and important decision has ever been issued by the Supreme Court. The Dred Scott decision did not approach this in scope and importance, for it only decreed that any runaway slave could be pursued if he made his escape into a free State and his return compelled by all the powers of the Government, to his owner to a slave State. Any person who assisted in the escape of a slave or who harbored him could be prosecuted before the courts for a criminal offense. That decision involved the few negro slaves who could make good their escape from a slave-holding State. The civil war annulled the decision of the Supreme Court and freed the slaves. It cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of brave men on both sides and emancipated from chattel slavery 4,000,000 slaves. No man now proudly points to that famous Dred Scott Supreme Court decision.

The decision of the Supreme Court in the Hatters' case involves every worker and every sympathizer with the ennobling work of the labor movement of our land. A study of this momentous decision reveals some strange peculiarities. Outside of the opening paragraphs quoted above, the decision has very little other than the citation of cases which are held to illustrate and support it. There are references to injunctions granted under the Sherman Antitrust Act and brief comment upon the citations, the decision gives an outline of the complaint incorrect in many particulars, especially in its summary of boycott proceedings by the Hatters. It quotes directly and at great length from the complaint (Loewe & Co.). The decision concludes thus:

"And then follows the averments (in Loewe complaint) that the defendants (Hatters) proceeded to carry out their combination to restrain and destroy interstate trade and commerce between the plaintiffs and their customers in other States by employing the identical means contrived for that purpose, and that by reason of those acts plaintiffs were damaged in their business and property in some \$80,000.

"We think a case within the statute was set up and that the demurrer should have been overruled.

"Judgment (of lower court) reversed, and cause remanded with a direction to proceed accordingly."

Reference to the decision itself will show what precedents are quoted and what comments the court makes on them to show their alleged bearing on this case; but, in truth, not one of them in any degree parallels this case or sets any precedent that the layman can discover.

The Hatters' defense of the boycott, their explanation, and justification—for the boycott is admitted—appears nowhere in the decision.

As the complaint of the plaintiffs (the Loewe Company) is published in full with decision, it would seem only fair that the reply of the defendants (Hatters) should also have been reproduced.

As it is, the complaint of the plaintiffs is apparently taken by the court as a true and correct account of what happened, though it is in reality full of the most glaring inaccuracies and misstatements. We have not the space here to quote the complaint and point out its fallacies, but may do so in the future.

When the court quotes from the complaint it includes its errors.

Some of these we shall point out, for it is not right that what is destined to become so historic a decision should rest upon a faulty foundation of fact without protest.

The court, quoting from the plaintiff's complaint, directly, says that defendants were—

"engaged in a combined scheme and effort to force all manufacturers of fur hats in the United States, including the plaintiffs, against their will and their previous policy of carrying on their business, to organize their workmen in the departments of making and finishing in each of their factories into an organization, to be part and parcel of the said combination known as the United Hatters of North America, or as the defendants and their confederates term it, unionize their shops, with the intent thereby to control the employment of labor in and the operation of said factories, and to subject the same to the direction and control of persons other than the owners of the same, in a manner extremely onerous and distasteful to such owners, and to carry out such scheme, effort, and purpose, by restraining and destroying the interstate trade and commerce of such manufacturers, by means of intimidation of and threats made to such manufacturers and their customers in the several States, of boycotting them, their product, and their customers, using therefore all the powerful means at their command as aforesaid

until such time as, from the damage and loss of business resulting therefrom, the said manufacturers should yield to the said demand to unionize their factories."

The Hatters had union agreements with seventy out of eighty-two manufacturers in the country. The Supreme Court says of this:

"That the conspiracy or combination was so far progressed that out of eighty-two manufacturers of this country engaged in the production of fur hats, seventy had accepted the terms and acceded to the demand that the shop should be conducted in accordance, so far as conditions of employment were concerned, with the will of the American Federation of Labor; that the local union demanded of plaintiffs that they should unionize their shop under the peril of being boycotted by this combination, which demand defendants declined to comply with; that thereupon the American Federation of Labor, acting through its official organ and through its organizers, declared a boycott.

The court takes the amazing view that even the very successful effort of the hatters' union to obtain and maintain industrial peace with employers is proof of unlawful conduct—that is, "conspiracy"—and under the Sherman antitrust law unlawful and punishable by being mulcted in damages and by fine and imprisonment.

As a matter of fact, neither the hatters nor any other trade ever attempted to "force all manufacturers against their will" to make agreements with the union. Common sense teaches that a voluntary agreement between an employer and a union must be a peaceful one.

All union agreements with employers are voluntary and mutual.

No union could, if it tried, force an employer to enter into an agreement with it. No union attempts such unbusiness-like tactics. The most any union has done is to decline to buy the products of a firm which declined to employ union men and grant the prevailing rate of wages, hours of labor, and conditions of employment. Supposing that they were exercising their constitutional right of free speech, union men have asked their friends and fellow-unionists not to buy such goods. A word as to this custom may not be amiss here.

No manufacturer, no retailer, has any vested right in the purchasing power of an individual or of the community; no court can confer upon him that right. The patronage or purchasing of goods depends on the whim of those who buy. A purchaser may decline to buy certain goods, for the most absurd reason or no reason; yet the person who has those goods to sell has no resource by which he can force the purchaser to buy them.

In illustration of this, witness the stock of goods which accumulate in every line of retail business, nothing wrong with the goods except that the whim of a passing fashion has decreed them out of date and the purchaser looks for novelty, or, on the other hand, the purchaser may decline to buy the article in fashion and insist upon the indulgence of individual taste, thus greatly disappointing the retailer who would like to dispose of stock on hand. We digress this much to show how completely the purchasing power is vested in inclination.

In the case in point the boycott by the hatters against the Loewe Company did not result in fewer hats being purchased by the community; therefore we can not see how there was any restraint of trade. The boycott, if effective, merely diverted the purchasers to some other make of hats. The volume of trade was the same, though for certain reasons some manufacturers may have sold more hats than others. We fail to see that the hatters did anything more than ordinary business competitors do when they try to divert business to themselves from other competitors by advertising. The hatters tried to divert the hat business to the products of union labor. Since their boycott neither obstructed nor decreased the total volume of trade, we fail to see how their action could be "a conspiracy in restraint of trade and commerce."

The Supreme Court in its decision specifically charges that the American Federation of Labor acting through its official organ and through its organizers declared a boycott.

#### THE COURT'S ERROR IN FACT.

The court is in error. The American Federation of Labor never indorsed or declared a boycott against the Loewe Company. In fact, no request for such action in any manner or form was ever made to the American Federation of Labor or its officers either directly or indirectly by the hatters or anyone else. The Loewe Company was never published on the "We don't patronize" list of the American Federationist. We invite the inspection of the files of the American Federationist and of our office records in proof of this. We feel it our duty in the interest of truth and accuracy to call public attention



to the error of the court in charging the American Federation of Labor with being a party to the action against the Loewe Company.

We can hardly believe that the Supreme Court itself realized the evil consequences which may follow this decision under its construction of the Sherman antitrust law, a construction never intended by Congress.

It may be like the falling pebble which dislodges the avalanche, bringing ruin and destruction upon all in its path. Should this be the result, it will follow from the nature and operation of the decision itself, not because of the protest of those affected.

We regard the members of the Supreme Bench as upright and incorruptible. We believe that in any decision handed down each judge honestly and conscientiously gives the opinion which he believes to be correct. We do not agree with those who charge the court with being influenced by sinister motives or under the domination of corporate influence.

But, while expressing our confidence in the integrity of the Supreme Court, we must also say that, being human, we do not consider it infallible in its judgments. We must accept them because, under our form of government, the Supreme Court is the highest legal tribunal. Right or wrong, there is no appeal from its decision. It is true that this is the only country possessing such a tribunal, and it is a subject for serious speculation whether we might not do better under some other form of procedure; but such speculation is useless so far as the immediate future is concerned.

We are proud of the institutions of our country and try to uphold them with all our power, but we do protest against the assumption of lawmaking power by the courts. In assuming such functions they invade the sphere of the legislative and executive, which must necessarily result injuriously to the very fabric of our Republic. Such action by the courts not being contemplated by the Constitution, there are no safeguards, no checks, as to what may be attempted. This assumption of power, even under the guise of construing existing law, is none the less dangerous, for decision of the court then becomes a law without the people ever having had an opportunity to take any part in the making or rejecting of it.

We trust it will not be considered lese majeste if we say that in our opinion the Supreme Court in this and other recent decisions affecting labor tends to revert to medieval procedure rather than make the application of legal principles to present the industrial situation. The conditions with all their complications are here and not of our making. Why should our highest tribunal ignore them and plunge the people into confusion and distress?

However, it is not so wonderful that the court takes this attitude.

The lifelong environment of the respected gentlemen who compose the Supreme Bench has been such that they have not been brought into personal contact with industrial problems. On the contrary, their associations have been largely with business and financial men and affairs. Naturally a man absorbs most of his point of view from his environment. It is quite understandable to us that justices of the Supreme Court should have little knowledge of modern industrial conditions and less sympathy with the efforts of the wage-workers to adapt themselves to the marvelous revolution which has taken place in industry in the past half century.

The language of the Hatters' decision makes it clear that the Supreme Court has not informed itself on modern economics. In its opinion the rights of hats seem to be greater than the rights of man. It seems to regard a hat as a sacred emblem of the rights of property; hence its protection is imperative. No effort, however, is made to protect the right of man to a fair return for his labor and the opportunity to labor under the prevailing conditions. In fact this decision goes to an unheard-of length in punishing the workers for the exercise of their rights.

We regret exceedingly that this is so. While again expressing our belief in the integrity of the court, we yet are convinced that it is the duty of this high tribunal to inform itself of the great principles underlying the economic conditions of our time. Were its members to do this, we believe they would perceive that a labor union can neither be a trust nor subject to trust laws. The decision refers to a book which seems to have suggested certain views. We would suggest that the members of the court read the chapter entitled "Some equivocal rights of labor," from the book *Moral Overstrain*, by George W. Alger. It will disclose the difference between essential remedies to relieve wrongs and the academic (?) rights which avail the workers nothing. While the union is not specifically declared a trust under this application of the Sherman Act, yet the Supreme Court construes for the punishment of the unions a law which was only

intended to apply to illegal trusts. The wording of the law permits the penalty to attach whether the union is considered a trust, "or otherwise," so we can take our choice as to the nomenclature, but the penalties apply in any case.

From the fact that labor unions are declared punishable under trust penalties we feel that we should again point out how widely different is a labor union from a trust—for upon these vital and fundamental differences of the two are based the main reasons for our protest.

#### ORGANIZED LABOR NOT A TRUST.

The labor union is not a trust; none of its achievements in behalf of its members—and society at large—can properly be confounded with the pernicious and selfish activities of the illegal trust. A trust, even at its best, is an organization of the few to monopolize the production and control the distribution of a material product of some kind. The voluntary association of the workers for mutual benefit and assistance is essentially different. Even if they seek to control the disposition of their labor power, it must be remembered that the power to labor is not a material commodity.

There can not be a trust in something which is not yet produced.

The human power to produce is the antithesis of the material commodities which become the subject of trust control.

From its very nature the labor union can not be regarded as a trust, yet the Supreme Court seems not to have considered this vital distinction in arriving at its decision.

Public opinion is practically unanimous in recognizing the union as one of the most essential means of securing for the workman his rights, protecting him against injustice, and putting him in touch with all the best thought and most advanced movements of ethical forces of civilization.

The aims and purposes of our labor movement have often been stated before, but will bear brief restatement at this time, when the attempt is being made in many directions to so cripple the activities of our unions that they may be shorn of their usefulness.

Our unions aim to improve the standard of life, to uproot ignorance, and foster education; to instill character, manhood, and independent spirit among our people; to bring about a recognition of the interdependence of man upon his fellow-man. We aim to establish a normal workday, to take the children from the factory and workshop and give them the opportunity of the school, the home, and the playground. In a word, our unions strive to lighten toil, educate their members, make their homes more cheerful, and in every way contribute an earnest effort toward making life the better worth living. To achieve these praiseworthy ends we believe that all honorable and lawful means are both justifiable and commendable and should receive the sympathetic support of every right-thinking American.

If the workers are to be deprived of their opportunities for self-improvement and independence; if they are to be held at the will of the employer—and if this decision is enforced such might be the consequence—the industrial condition of our country would sink lower than that of slavery.

The slave owner was usually restrained from going to extremes in the treatment of his slaves by the fact that they represented property value to him, but if the industrial situation ensues indicated by this court decision, the wageworkers would be more under the control of the unscrupulous employer than was the slave under his owner.

We do not believe that the conscience and sense of justice of a large majority of employers will permit them to take advantage of the conditions possible under this decision. We believe that they and all good citizens will join with us in the earnest attempt to secure a remedy from Congress; but there is always the selfish, avaricious, conscienceless type of employer, and it gives us cause to think of the hardships and persecutions which such employers might inflict when their rapacity has the protection of a decree such as this recent one delivered by the Supreme Court.

At the time the Sherman antitrust law was passed we warned our members and the public that it was so drawn that we feared a construction would be read into it so as to apply it to our unions instead of to the trusts which it was intended to restrain.

The event which we feared has come to pass. The law has long been admitted to be of no value in restraining or really punishing trusts. Useless as an instrument of good, it has now been made an instrument of positive mischief, and perverted from its original intent.

We know the Sherman law was intended by Congress to punish illegal trusts and not the labor unions, for we had various conferences with Members of Congress while the Sherman Act was pending, and remember clearly that such a determination was stated again and again.

The judges of the Supreme Court should be aware of this, for

the legislation has been enacted within their knowledge and memory. While not expecting infallibility on the part of the court, we do think it should acquire and act upon current information as to the intent of such an act as the Sherman antitrust law.

We would have supposed that the debates upon this subject in Congress would have had some weight in assisting judicial interpretation of application of the law. It apparently did, but in a most misleading way. In this decision the court says that some effort was made when the Sherman Act was pending in Congress to exclude organized labor and agricultural labor from its operation, but because such a clause was not made a specific part of the law the Supreme Court seems to find its justification for now applying it to organized labor.

#### BRIEF HISTORY OF SHERMAN ACT.

We believe that this view of the case is not supported by the facts in connection with the history of the Sherman antitrust law and the efforts made to amend it since its passage. We propose now to give this history at some length by quoting from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The antitrust bill was presented to the consideration of the Senate on February 28, 1890. The text of the bill contained but three sections in strict reference to corporation business. The bill was brought up from time to time by Senator Sherman, and it was just as often laid aside by other Senators. A substitute for the bill was introduced by the Committee on Finance on March 22, 1890, and on March 25 it was moved by Senator Morgan to commit the bill to the Judiciary Committee. His motion failed at that time on a vote of 16 yeas, 28 nays. The discussion of the bill continued as it was reported by the Finance Committee, and on the same day Senator Sherman offered a proviso at the end of the first section of the bill reported by the Committee on Finance. He said: "I take this proviso from the amendment proposed by the Senator from Mississippi, Mr. George. I do not think it necessary, but at the same time, to avoid any confusion, I submit it to come in at the end of the first section."

Thus showing that Senator Sherman believed that the bill without the amendment excluded the laboring and agricultural organizations from the operation of the act. Indeed, in conference, he so expressed himself to the writer.

Amendment: "Provided, That this act shall not be construed to apply to any arrangements, agreements, or combinations between the laborers, made with a view of lessening the number of hours of labor or the increasing of their wages; nor to any arrangements, agreements, or combinations among persons engaged in horticulture or agriculture, made with a view of enhancing the price of agricultural or horticultural products."

Some discussion was had upon this amendment by Senators Plumb, Sherman, Ingalls, Teller, Turpie, and Blair, and the word "their" was added between the words "of" and "own," in the last line of the amendment, so as to make it read "the price of their own agricultural or horticultural products," and with this single addition the amendment was agreed to.

Discussions continued, and on the following day, March 26, Senator Stewart, of Nevada, said:

"The original bill has been very much improved, and one of the great objections has been removed from it by the amendment offered by Senator Sherman, which relieves the class of persons who would have been first prosecuted under the original bill without the amendment. I am very much gratified that the Senator offered the amendment and that the Senate adopted it. The bill ought now, in some respects, to be satisfactory to every person who is opposed to the oppression of labor and desires to see it properly rewarded."

This amendment to the act was made while the Senate was sitting in Committee of the Whole.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill on March 27, and when the amendment just referred to was reached, Senator Sherman rose and said: "That is an amendment offered by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Aldrich], and I call the attention of the Senate to it. In my judgment this amendment practically fritters away the substantial elements of this bill." Senator Blair corrected Senator Sherman and told him that the amendment referred to was one offered by himself and not by the Senator from Rhode Island.

A discussion followed, in which Senator Edmunds, of Vermont, participated. He opposed the amendment, but in the course of his remarks said:

"Well, here we are! I do not blame the farmers of the United States at all. On the contrary, I support them when everybody is turned against their interests in organizing themselves to defend them. But if capital and manufacturing industries begin to regulate, to repress, and diminish below what

it ought to be the price of all labor everywhere that is engaged in that kind of business, labor must organize to defend itself."

Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, followed Senator Edmunds in the discussion upon this amendment as it offered to protect labor.

"I wish to state in one single sentence my opinion in regard to this particular provision. The Senator from Vermont thinks that the applying to laborers in this respect a principle which was not applied to persons engaged in the large commercial transactions which are chiefly affected by this bill was indefensible in principle. Now, it seems to me that there is a very broad distinction, which, if borne in mind, will warrant not only this exception to the provisions of the bill, but a great deal of other legislation which we enact or attempt to enact relating to the matter of labor. When you are providing to regulate the transactions of men who are making corners in wheat, iron, and other products, speculating or when they are lawfully dealing with them without speculation, you are aiming at a mere commercial transaction, the beginning and the end of which is the making of money for the parties and nothing else. That is the only relation that transaction has to the state, but is the creation or division of much of the ownership of the wealth of the community, but when the laborer is trying to raise his wages, or is endeavoring to shorten the hours of his labor, he is dealing with something that touches closely, more closely than anything else, the government and the character of the state itself. The laborer who is engaged lawfully and usefully and accomplishes his purpose, in whole or in part, endeavoring to raise the standard of wages is engaged in the occupation the success of which makes republican government itself possible, and without which the republic can not, in substance, however it may in form, continue to exist.

"I hold, therefore, that as legislators we may constitutionally, properly, and wisely allow laborers to make associations, combinations, contracts, agreements for the sake of maintaining in advance their wages, in regard to which, as a rule, their contracts are to be made with large corporations who are themselves but an association or combination of capital on the other side. When we are promoting and even encouraging that, we are promoting and encouraging what is not only lawful, wise, and profitable, but absolutely essential to the existence of the Commonwealth itself."

Further discussion followed, and Senator Walthall, of Mississippi, moved to refer the bill and the amendment to the Committee on the Judiciary, with instructions to report within twenty days, which carried by a vote of 31 yeas, 28 nays.

On April 2 the bill was reported out by the Committee on the Judiciary, but the amendment agreed to in Committee of the Whole was not included.

Though at the time we doubted the wisdom of that amendment being omitted, we were assured by several that under the reconstructed bill labor and agricultural organizations were not included.

On April 8 the bill passed the Senate as reported by the Committee on the Judiciary by a vote of 52 yeas, 1 nay. It passed the House on June 21, 1890, and was approved July 2, 1890.

In the Fifty-sixth Congress a bill was introduced known as H. R. 10539, intended to amend the Sherman antitrust law. During its consideration by the House Committee on the Judiciary, representatives of the American Federation of Labor requested the adoption of the following amendment:

"Nothing in this act shall be so construed as to apply to trade unions or other labor organizations organized for the purpose of regulating wages, hours of labor, or other conditions under which labor is to be performed."

The committee declined to accept this amendment; but when the bill was reported to the House, Representative Terry made the motion to adopt the amendment, which was agreed to, and the bill as amended passed the House by a vote of 259 yeas and 9 nays.

The bill then went to the Senate, but no action was taken; therefore it died on the expiration of that Congress.

Yet no one will pretend to say that both these quoted provisions excluding labor from the operation of the law were not the expression of the separate judgment of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, though not jointly enacted.

Does not this brief review of the history of legislation upon the subject of the Sherman Act clearly indicate what Congress had in mind when it enacted this legislation? And yet the Supreme Court assumes that, because both Houses did not jointly adopt a specific provision excluding the labor organizations from the operations of the antitrust laws, therefore they were included.

We must protest against the penalizing of the labor unions



under the carelessly worded provisions of an antitrust law, which we understand since the court's decision has resulted in the grand jury of New Orleans indicting seventy-two workmen under its provisions, while at the same time the most vicious and rapacious trusts flourish and wax great upon the "restraint of trade and commerce" which they are able to exert, yet not all the machinery of our Government or of courts seems adequate to bring these real trust offenders to the place where the Sherman antitrust law really applies to them. In the confusion caused by this misapplication of the Sherman law to the labor unions, the illegal and vicious trusts are likely to still further escape punishment. Thus they may profit by the injustice done to labor.

The trend of legislation in civilized countries, including our own, has been to remove the associated efforts of the wage-earners for their mutual and common protection from the ban of conspiracy or the implication that they are in unlawful restraint of trade. As a matter of fact, and laws have been passed by other countries and in our own specifically declaring that the organizations of workmen instituted for the purpose of regulating hours of labor and other conditions of employment and increasing wages were not to be held as conspiracies or organizations in restraint of trade.

#### CONGRESSIONAL RELIEF IMPERATIVE.

We expect that the present Congress will take prompt action to so amend or modify the Sherman law that there can be no question as to its application. We shall ask such enactment restoring the rights of unions and agricultural associations, so that the association of human beings for education and progress may never again be confounded with the sordid and material activities of trusts. We believe that the people as a whole will be with us in this effort.

And even should Congress grant the desired relief in this case we shall still advise the utmost political activity on the part of our workers and friends. This decision has shown us the necessity of eternal vigilance.

It is well that Congress is in session at the time this decision is handed down, for we can now make our appeal directly to it for relief. We confidently expect that Congress will appreciate the injustice which has been done directly to the workers and hence indirectly to all the people. We believe that Congress will understand how important a portion of the body politic is comprised by the workers and will grant us the attention and prompt action which the injury merits. Congress must of necessity declare itself either for or against us at this time, and should it fail to heed our request for justice we shall at once appeal to all the people to help us right our wrongs by electing Representatives pledged to the interests of the people.

Already some bills have been introduced seeking to amend the Sherman law. When a bill has been perfected which will remedy the injustice done to labor by the recent court decision, it will be presented to Congress for consideration and every effort made to press it to passage.

Instead of being disheartened by this decision of the Supreme Court our labor forces will only be cemented the more closely by the danger which threatens.

This decision will mean a greater awakening for labor than ever before. In fact we feel assured that the people as a whole will join with us in securing Representatives in Congress who will really represent the industrial, political, material interests of the masses. This work of safeguarding the interests and moral welfare of the workers and of all the people has already begun. It will be carried on with greater vigor since this decision shows the necessity of our being ably, firmly, clearly, and fully represented in Congress so that it will be impossible for the Supreme Court in future to ignore or misunderstand.

Our fellow-workers and the people as a whole will unite industrially and politically for the safeguarding and protecting of their interests. All need a more widespread knowledge of economic conditions and the trend of modern industry. In this effort we shall have the appreciation and assistance of all our people.

Another thing must not be forgotten. The union is a necessary and inevitable outgrowth of our modern industrial condition. To deny the union the exercise of its normal activities for the protection and advancement of its members and the advancement of society in general is to do a great injury to all the people.

This repression of right and natural activities is bound to finally break forth in violent form of protest, especially among the more ignorant of the people who, if penalized, as they may be under this decree, will feel great bitterness that they are deprived of the opportunity to improve their conditions by voluntary association.

#### LABOR NOT DISHEARTENED.

The work and methods of the trade unions and labor organizations are, by the very nature of their large numbers, an open book. All men may know the actions and the doings of the labor unions. The loyal labor papers publish broadcast the aims and progress of the labor movement. The unions appeal to the intelligence, the character, the manhood, the patriotism, and the humanity of the workers and our fellow-man for sympathetic and helpful cooperation. Do the opponents of labor organizations imagine that they can crush the spirit and independence of the men of labor?

Can they imagine themselves in the "Fool's Paradise" where they have succeeded in eliminating the organizations of labor from our public life and body politic, these unions which have done so much to protect and promote the rights and interest and well-being of the American workman? It is inconceivable, but were it at all possible and the organizations of labor driven out of existence, what then?

Does any one imagine that America's workers will submit to the injustice, the greed, and rapacity of unchecked corporate wealth without some form of resistance?

Kill the trade and labor unions of America; drive them out of existence by legislation and court decrees, and then each worker will be an irresponsible person, without association with his fellows, without opportunity for consultation, and without the constructive influence which open organization gives. Then will he seek his own redress in his own way.

Is such a chaotic condition desirable or preferable to the normal, rational, intelligent, peaceful organizations of labor of our time? We opine not. Such a condition must not and will not transpire.

The American labor movement is founded upon the inherent principles of justice and right. Its men are loyal—as loyal to the institutions of our Republic as can be found in any walk of life. The unions of labor have done so much for the material, moral, and social uplift of the toilers that they are indelibly impressed upon the hearts and minds, not only of the workers themselves but of every earnest, intelligent, liberty-loving, fair-minded citizen of our country.

The unions of labor will live. They can not be—they must not be—they will not be driven out of existence. Labor demands relief at the hands of Congress; demands it now.

It should be borne in mind that there is no law, aye, not even a court decision, compelling union men or their friends of labor to buy a Buck's stove or range. No, not even to buy a Loewe hat.

#### TO ORGANIZED LABOR AND FRIENDS.

It has seldom occurred that I have found it necessary to use the first person in addressing my fellow-workers and the people through the editorial columns of the American Federationist. What follows here refers to such an extraordinary circumstance and affects the labor organizations, their members, and our friends so fundamentally that I am impelled to address them in the most direct manner. The Supreme Court of the United States on February 3, 1908, rendered a decision in the case of the hat manufacturer Loewe against the United Hatters of North America, and decreed that the Loewe suit for threefold damages can be maintained under the Sherman antitrust law. The Supreme Court holds that the action of the hatters, as described in the complaint, is a combination "in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States" in the sense in which those words are used in the Sherman law.

A decision by the Supreme Court, the highest tribunal of the country, is law and must be obeyed, regardless of whether or not we believe the decision to be a just one.

We protest that the trade unions of the country should not be penalized under the provisions of the Sherman antitrust law. In fact, I know that Congress never intended the law to apply to the labor unions, but the Supreme Court rules that it shall apply to them; therefore, pending action by Congress to define our status and restore our rights by modifying or amending the Sherman law, there is no alternative for labor but to obey the mandate of the court.

Under this decision the publication of a "We don't patronize" list in the American Federationist, or any other publication, makes the organization and the individuals composing it liable to monetary damages and imprisonment (see sections 1, 2, and 7 of Sherman law quoted elsewhere). This being the case, I feel obliged to discontinue the "We don't patronize" list.

This course I pursue upon the advice of the legal counsel of the American Federation of Labor, as to the far-reaching character of the decision of the Supreme Court. This action is also advised by my colleagues of the executive council.

I have no words adequate to express the regret I feel at being obliged to take this action, especially as in the opinion of competent lawyers—and their opinion is shared by many other laymen as well as myself—this decision by the Supreme Court is unwarranted and unjust, but until Congressional relief can be obtained it must undoubtedly be binding upon us all. Were it only myself personally who might suffer, for conscience' sake I should not hesitate to risk every penalty, even unto the extreme, in defense of what I believe to be labor's rights. In this case of the adverse court decision, and indeed, in every other circumstance which may arise, I think those who know me do not question my loyalty, devotion, and willingness to bear fully any responsibility involved in the forwarding of the cause to which my life is pledged; but unfortunately, the terms of the decision are such that no one person, even though president of the American Federation of Labor and willing to assume entire responsibility, will be permitted to take upon himself the sole penalty of protest against what I and every member of every organization affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, and, indeed, every patriotic citizen must feel to be a most sweeping dragnet decision, making the natural and rational voluntary action of workmen unlawful and punishable by fine and imprisonment.

Personal willingness to bear the penalty would avail nothing in this instance to spare the other men of labor and our organizations from the penalties decreed to them by the Supreme Court; in fact, such an attempt on my part would involve a vast number of people who would be held equally responsible with me.

I would fail in performing my duty, though it is a painful one, did I not point out that under this decision each and every officer and member of every labor organization becomes liable for any violation of the decision by anyone, not only as to his organization but individually, to the extent of whatever his possessions may be.

I think our men of labor will agree with me that I have no right to expose them to the heavy penalty for disobedience under this decision of the Supreme Court.

I will say briefly here, as I do more fully editorially, that while obeying the decision of the court I feel most deeply that never in the history of our country has there been so serious an invasion of the rights and liberties of our people.

Under the court's construction of the Sherman law the voluntary and peaceful associations of labor that are organized for the uplifting of the workers, these unions, I say, are made the greatest offenders under the antitrust law.

It is almost unbelievable that our unions which perform so important a service in the interest of civilization and moral and material progress are to be accorded the treatment of malefactors. Yet the more carefully this decision is read the more absolutely clear does it become that our unions are to be penalized by it, as the most vicious of trusts were intended to be, yet the trusts still go unpunished.

I have a strong hope that Congress will promptly take heed of the injustice that has been done the workers, and will so amend or modify the Sherman antitrust law that the labor unions will be restored to the exercise of the powers and rights guaranteed to all our citizens under the Constitution.

It is not conceivable that Congress will turn a deaf ear to the rightful demand of the workers of the country for relief from this most amazing decision, but until such time as relief is assured, I am compelled, for the safety of our men of labor, to obey literally the decision of the Supreme Court; but this situation created by the court must be met. It will be met.

While abiding by this decision, I urge most strongly upon my fellow-unionists everywhere to be more energetic than ever before in organizing the yet unorganized, in standing together, in uniting and federating for the common good.

Be more active than ever before in using every lawful and honorable means, not only to secure relief from the present situation at the hands of Congress, but in the doing of everything which may promote the uplifting and noble work of our great cause of humanity. Like all great causes it must meet temporary opposition, but in the end it will accomplish all the more on account of the trials endured.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
President American Federation of Labor.

[Editorial from American Federalist by President Samuel Gompers.]

The Supreme Court on January 23 decided that clause in the Erdman Act which provided that railroads might not discharge employees for belonging to a labor union was an interference with "freedom of contract." This means, in plain language, that corporations may have the freedom to blacklist men for being members of labor organizations.

Mark the inconsistency of the Supreme Court. In the hatters' case it declares that the boycott used by the workers is a conspiracy and punishable by heavy penalties. In the Adair case, brought under the Erdman Act, it gives a decision which will permit employers to use the blacklist as freely as they please and the wageworkers will have no redress.

Employers may use the blacklist, but wageworkers may not use the boycott. Both decisions are unjust to labor.

The boycott concerns only the manipulation of material products. The blacklist is the denial of the opportunity for a man to work. To blacklist a man—deny him the right to labor—is to deny him the right to live. Humanity was shocked at the discovery of the reconcentrado camps in Cuba, where the Spanish penned in their victims to die by slow starvation, before the Spanish war, yet the blacklist erects as real a barrier—though invisible—around the worker under its ban, and he is often equally condemned to the horrors of slow starvation for himself and his family. It must be remembered that the blacklisted man is often refused employment on any terms—and for what? Not that he is guilty of crime, but because he has associated with his fellows in a labor union. Much freedom of contract for the wageworkers forsooth under the operation of the blacklist!

We hope this decree will prove so repugnant to the country that no employer will be tempted to use it under the shield of the Supreme Court decision. It is another case for Congressional relief.

SUPREME COURT DECISION—DIETRICH LOEWE ET AL. V. MARTIN LAWLER ET AL.

[February 3, 1908.]

On a writ of certiorari to the United States circuit court of appeals for the second circuit.

Mr. Chief Justice Fuller delivered the opinion of the court:

This was an action brought in the circuit court for the district of Connecticut under section 7 of the antitrust act of July 2, 1890, claiming threefold damages for injuries inflicted on plaintiffs by combination or conspiracy declared to be unlawful by the act.

Defendants filed a demurrer to the complaint, assigning general and special grounds. The demurrer was sustained as to the first six paragraphs, which rested on the ground that the combination stated was not within the Sherman Act, and this rendered it unnecessary to pass upon any other questions in the case; and, upon plaintiffs declining to amend their complaint, the court dismissed it with costs. (148 Fed. Rep., 924; and see 142 Fed. Rep., 216; 130 Fed. Rep., 633.)

The case was then carried by writ of error to the circuit court of appeals for the second circuit, and that court, desiring the instruction of this court upon a question arising on the writ of error, certified that question to this court. The certificate consisted of a brief statement of facts, and put the question thus: "Upon this state of facts, can plaintiffs maintain an action against defendants under section 7 of the antitrust act of July 2, 1890?"

After the case on certificate had been docketed here plaintiffs in error applied, and defendants in error joined in the application, to this court to require the whole record and cause to be sent up for its consideration. The application was granted, and the whole record and cause being thus brought before this court it devolved upon the court, under section 6 of the judiciary act of 1801, to "decide the whole matter in controversy in the same manner as if it had been brought there for review by writ of error or appeal."

The case comes up, then, on complaint and demurrer, and we give the complaint in the margin.

The question is whether upon the facts therein averred and admitted by the demurrer this action can be maintained under the antitrust act.

The first, second, and seventh sections of that act are as follows:

"1. Every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, is hereby declared to be illegal. Every person who shall make any such contract or engage in any such combination or conspiracy, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by fine not exceeding \$5,000, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

"2. Every person who shall monopolize, or attempt to monopolize, or combine or conspire with any other person or persons, to monopolize any part of the trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by fine not exceeding \$5,000, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

"7. Any person who shall be injured in his business or property by any other person or corporation, by reason of anything forbidden or declared to be unlawful by this act, may sue therefor in any circuit court of the United States in the district in which the defendant resides or is found, without respect to the amount in controversy, and shall recover threefold the damages by him sustained, and the costs of suit, including a reasonable attorney's fee."

In our opinion, the combination described in the declaration is a combination "in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States" in the sense in which those words are used in the act, and the action can be maintained accordingly.

And that conclusion rests on many judgments of this court, to the effect that the act prohibits any combination whatever to secure action which essentially obstructs the free flow of commerce between the States, or restricts, in that regard, the liberty of a trader to engage in business.

The combination charged falls within the class of restraints of trade aimed at compelling third parties and strangers involuntarily not to engage in the course of trade except on conditions that the combination imposes; and there is no doubt that (to quote from the well-known work of Chief Justice Erie on trade unions) "at common law every person has individually, and the public also has collectively, a right to require that the course of trade should be kept free from unreasonable obstruction." But the objection here is to the jurisdiction, because, even conceding that the declaration states a case good at common law, it is contended that it does not state one within the statute.



Thus, it is said, that the restraint alleged would operate to entirely destroy defendants' business and thereby include intrastate trade as well; that physical obstruction is not alleged as contemplated, and that defendants are not themselves engaged in interstate trade.

We think none of these objections are tenable, and that they are disposed of by previous decisions of this court.

*United States v. Trans-Missouri Freight Association*, 166 U. S., 290; *United States v. Joint Traffic Association*, 171 U. S., 505, and *Northern Securities Company v. United States*, 193 U. S., 197, hold in effect that the antitrust law has a broader application than the prohibition of restraints of trade unlawful at common law. Thus in the *Trans-Missouri* case it was said that, "assuming that agreements of this nature are not void at common law, and that the various cases cited by the learned courts below show it, the answer to the statement of their validity is to be found in the terms of the statute under consideration;" and in the *Northern Securities* case that "the act declares illegal every contract, combination, or conspiracy in whatever form, of whatever nature, and whoever may be the parties to it, which directly or necessarily operates in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States."

We do not pause to comment on cases such as *United States v. Knight*, 156 U. S., 1; *Hopkins v. United States*, 171 U. S., 578, and *Anderson v. United States*, Id., 694, in which the undisputed facts showed that the purpose of the agreement was not to obstruct or restrain interstate commerce. The object and intention of the combination determined its legality.

In *Swift v. United States*, 196 U. S., 395, a bill was brought against a number of corporations, firms, and individuals of different States, alleging that they were engaged in interstate commerce in the purchase, sale, transportation, and delivery, and subsequent resale at the point of delivery, of meats; and that they combined to refrain from bidding against each other in the purchase of cattle; to maintain a uniform price at which the meat should be sold; and to maintain uniform charges in delivering meats thus sold through the channels of interstate trade to the various dealers and consumers in other States. And that thus they artificially restrained commerce in fresh meats from the purchase and shipment of live stock from the plains to the final distribution of the meats to the consumers in the markets of the country.

Mr. Justice Holmes, speaking for the court, said: "Commerce among the States is not a technical legal conception, but a practical one, drawn from the course of business. When cattle are sent for sale from a place in one State with the expectation that they will end their transit after purchase in another, and when in effect they do so, with only the interruption necessary to find a purchaser at the stock yards, and when this is a typical, constantly recurring course, the current thus existing is a current of commerce among the States, and the purchase of the cattle is a part and incident of such commerce."

"The general objection is urged that the bill does not set forth sufficient definite or specific facts. This objection is serious, but it seems to us inherent in the nature of the case. The scheme alleged is so vast that it presents a new problem in pleading. If, as we must assume, the scheme is entertained, it is, of course, contrary to the very words of the statute. Its size makes the violation of the law more conspicuous, and yet the same thing makes it impossible to fasten the principal fact to a certain time and place. The elements, too, are so numerous and shifting, even the constituent parts alleged are and from their nature must be so extensive in time and space that something of the same impossibility applies to them."

"The scheme as a whole seems to us to be within reach of the law. The constituent elements, as we have stated them, are enough to give to the scheme a body and, for all that we can say, to accomplish it. Moreover, whatever we may think of them separately, when we take them up as distinct charges, they are alleged sufficiently as elements of a scheme. It is suggested that the several acts charged are lawful and that intent can make no difference. But they are bound together as parts of a single plan. The plan may make the parts unlawful."

And the same principle was expressed in *Alkins v. Wisconsin*, 195 U. S., 194, involving a statute of Wisconsin prohibiting combinations "for the purpose of willfully or maliciously injuring another in his reputation, trade, business, or profession by any means whatever," etc., in which Mr. Justice Holmes said:

"The statute is directed against a series of acts, and acts of several, the acts of combining, with intent to do other acts. 'The very plot is an act in itself.' *Mulcahy v. The Queen*, L. R., 3, H. L., 306, 317. But an act, which in itself is merely a voluntary muscular contraction, derives all its character from the consequences which will follow it under the circumstances in which it was done. When the acts consist of making a combination calculated to cause temporal damage, the power to punish such acts, when done maliciously, can not be denied because they are to be followed and worked out by conduct which might have been lawful if not preceded by the acts. No conduct has such an absolute privilege as to justify all possible schemes of which it may be a part. The most innocent and constitutionally protected of acts or omissions may be made a step in a criminal plot, and if it is a step in a plot neither its innocence nor the Constitution is sufficient to prevent the punishment of the plot by law."

In *Addyston Pipe and Steel Company v. United States*, 175 U. S., 211, the petition alleged that the defendants were practically the only manufacturers of cast iron within thirty-six States and Territories; that they had entered into a combination by which they agreed not to compete with each other in the sale of pipe, and the territory through which the constituent companies could make sales was allotted between them. This court held that the agreement which, prior to any act of transportation, limited the prices at which the pipe could be sold after transportation, was within the law. Mr. Justice Peckham delivering the opinion, said: "And when Congress has enacted a statute such as the one in question, any agreement or combination which directly operates not alone upon the manufacture, but upon the sale, transportation, and delivery of an article of interstate commerce," by preventing or restricting its sale, etc., thereby regulates interstate commerce."

In *Montague & Company v. Lowry*, 193 U. S., 38, which was an action brought by a private citizen under section 7 against a combination engaged in the manufacture of tiles, defendants were wholesale dealers in tiles in California and combined with manufacturers in other States to restrain the interstate traffic in tiles by refusing to sell any tiles to any wholesale dealer in California who was not a member of the association except at a prohibitive rate. The case was a commercial boycott against such dealers in California as would not or could not obtain membership in the association. The restraint did not consist in a physical obstruction of interstate commerce, but in the fact that the plaintiff and other independent dealers could not purchase their tiles from manufacturers in other States because such manufacturers had combined to boycott them. This court held that this obstruction to

the purchase of tiles, a fact antecedent to physical transportation, was within the prohibition of the act. Mr. Justice Peckham, speaking for the court, said, concerning the agreement, that it "restrained trade, for it narrowed the market for the sale of tiles in California from the manufacturers and dealers therein in other States, so that they could only be sold to the members of the association, and it enhanced prices to the nonmember."

The averments here are that there was an existing interstate traffic between plaintiffs and citizens of other States, and that for the direct purpose of destroying such interstate traffic defendants combined not merely to prevent plaintiffs from manufacturing articles then and there intended for transportation beyond the State, but also to prevent the vendees from reselling the hats which they had imported from Connecticut, or from further negotiating with plaintiffs for the purchase and intertransportation of such hats from Connecticut to the various places of destination. So that, although some of the means whereby the interstate traffic was to be destroyed were acts within a State and some of them were in themselves as a part of their obvious purpose and effect beyond the scope of Federal authority, still as we have seen, the acts must be considered as a whole, and the plan is open to condemnation, notwithstanding a negligible amount of intrastate business might be affected in carrying it out. If the purposes of the combination were, as alleged, to prevent any interstate transportation at all, the fact that the means operated at one end before physical transportation commenced and at the other end after the physical transportation ended was immaterial.

Nor can the act in question be held inapplicable because defendants were not themselves engaged in interstate commerce. The act made no distinction between classes. It provided that "every" contract, combination, or conspiracy in restraint of trade was illegal. The records of Congress show that several efforts were made to exempt by legislation organizations of farmers and laborers from the operation of the act, and that all these efforts failed, so that the act remained as we have it before us.

In an early case, *United States v. Workmen's Amalgamated Council* (54 Fed. Rep., 994), the United States filed a bill under the Sherman act in the circuit court for the eastern district of Louisiana, averring the existence of "a gigantic and widespread combination of the members of a multitude of separate organizations for the purpose of restraining the commerce among the several States and with foreign countries" and it was contended that the statute did not refer to combinations of laborers. But the court, granting the injunction, said:

"I think the Congressional debates show that the statute had its origin in the evils of massed capital; but, when the Congress came to formulating the prohibition, which is the yardstick for measuring the complainant's right to the injunction, it expressed it in these words: 'Every contract or combination in the form of trust, or otherwise in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States or with foreign nations, is hereby declared to be illegal.' The subject had so broadened in the minds of the legislators that the source of the evil was not regarded as material, and the evil in its entirety is dealt with. They made the interdiction include combinations of labor as well as of capital; in fact, all combinations in restraint of commerce, without reference to the character of the persons who entered into them. It is true this statute has not been much expounded by judges, but, as it seems to me, its meaning, as far as relates to the sort of combinations to which it is to apply, is manifest and that it includes combinations which are composed of laborers acting in the interest of laborers."

"It is the successful effort of the combination of the defendants to intimidate and overawe others who were at work in conducting or carrying on the commerce of the country, in which the court finds their error and their violation of the statute. One of the intended results of their combined action was the forced stagnation of all the commerce which flowed through New Orleans. This intent and combined action are none the less unlawful because they included in their scope the paralysis of all other business within the city as well."

The case was affirmed on appeal by the circuit court of appeals for the fifth circuit. (57 Fed. Rep., 85.)

Subsequently came the litigation over the Pullman strike and the decisions in *re Debs* (64 Fed. Rep., 724, 745, 755; 158 U. S., 564). The bill in that case was filed by the United States against the officers of the American Railway Union, which alleged that a labor dispute existed between the Pullman Palace Car Company and its employees; that thereafter the four officers of the railway union combined together and with others to compel an adjustment of such dispute by creating a boycott against the cars of the car company; that to make such boycott effective they had already prevented certain of the railroads running out of Chicago from operating their trains; that they asserted that they could and would tie up, paralyze, and break down any and every railroad which did not accede to their demands, and that the purpose and intention of the combination was "to secure unto themselves the entire control of the interstate, industrial, and commercial business in which the population of the city of Chicago and of other communities along the lines of road of said railways are engaged with each other, and to restrain any and all other persons from any independent control or management of such interstate, industrial, or commercial enterprises, save according to the will and with the consent of the defendants."

The circuit court proceeded principally upon the Sherman antitrust law, and granted an injunction. In this court the case was rested upon the broader ground that the Federal Government had full power over interstate commerce and over the transmission of the mails, and in the exercise of those powers could remove everything put upon highways, natural or artificial, to obstruct the passage of interstate commerce or the carrying of the mails. But in reference to the antitrust act the court expressly stated:

"We enter into an examination of the act of July 2, 1890 (c. 647, 26 Stat., 209), upon which the circuit court relied mainly to sustain its jurisdiction. It must not be understood from this that we dissent from the conclusions of that court in reference to the scope of the act, but simply that we prefer to rest our judgment on the broader ground which has been discussed in this opinion, believing it of importance that the principles underlying it should be fully stated and affirmed."

And in the opinion Mr. Justice Brewer, among other things, said: "It is curious to note the fact that in a large proportion of the cases in respect to interstate commerce brought to this court the question presented was of the validity of State legislation in its bearings upon interstate commerce, and the uniform course of decision has been to declare that it is not within the competency of a State to legislate in such a manner as to obstruct interstate commerce. If a State, with its recognized powers of sovereignty, is impotent to obstruct interstate

commerce, can it be that any mere voluntary association of individuals within the limits of that State has a power which the State itself does not possess?"

The question answers itself, and in the light of the authorities the only inquiry is as to the sufficiency of the averments of fact. We have given the declaration in full in the margin, and it appears therefrom that it is charged that defendants formed a combination to directly restrain plaintiffs' trade; that the trade to be restrained was interstate; that certain means to attain such restraint were contrived to be used and employed to that end; that those means were so used and employed by defendants, and that thereby they injured plaintiffs' property and business.

At the risk of tediousness, we repeat that the complaint averred that plaintiffs were manufacturers of hats in Danbury, Conn., having a factory there, and were then and there engaged in an interstate trade in some twenty States other than the State of Connecticut; that they were practically dependent upon such interstate trade to consume the product of their factory, only a small percentage of their entire output being consumed in the State of Connecticut; that at the time the alleged combination was formed they were in the process of manufacturing a large number of hats for the purpose of fulfilling engagements then actually made with consignees and wholesale dealers in States other than Connecticut, and that if prevented from carrying on the work of manufacturing these hats they would be unable to complete their engagements.

That defendants were members of a vast combination called The United Hatters of North America, comprising about 9,000 members and including a large number of subordinate unions, and that they were combined with some 1,400,000 others into another association known as the American Federation of Labor, of which they were members, whose members resided in all the places in the several States where the wholesale dealers in hats and their customers resided and did business; that defendants were "engaged in a combined scheme and effort to force all manufacturers of fur hats in the United States, including the plaintiffs, against their will and their previous policy of carrying on their business, to organize their workmen in the departments of making and finishing, in each of their factories, into an organization, to be part and parcel of the said combination known as The United Hatters of North America, or as the defendants and their confederates term it, to unionize their shops, with the intent thereby to control the employment of labor in and the operation of said factories, and to subject the same to the direction and control of persons, other than the owners of the same, in a manner extremely onerous and distasteful to such owners, and to carry out such scheme, effort, and purpose by restraining and destroying the interstate trade and commerce of such manufacturers by means of intimidation of and threats made to such manufacturers and their customers in the several States, of boycotting them, their product, and their customers, using therefor all the powerful means at their command as aforesaid, until such time as, from the damage and loss of business resulting therefrom, the said manufacturers should yield to the said demand to unionize their factories."

That the conspiracy or combination was so far progressed that out of 82 manufacturers of this country engaged in the production of fur hats 70 had accepted the terms and acceded to the demand that the shop should be conducted in accordance, so far as conditions of employment were concerned, with the will of the American Federation of Labor; that the local union demanded of plaintiffs that they should unionize their shop under peril of being boycotted by this combination, which demand defendants declined to comply with; that thereupon the American Federation of Labor, acting through its official organ and through its organizers, declared a boycott.

The complaint then thus continued:

"20. On or about July 25, 1902, the defendants individually and collectively, and as members of said combinations and associations, and with other persons whose names are unknown to the plaintiffs, associated with them, in pursuance of the general scheme and purpose aforesaid, to force all manufacturers of fur hats, and particularly the plaintiffs, to so unionize their factories, wantonly, wrongfully, maliciously, unlawfully, and in violation of the provisions of the act of Congress approved July 2, 1890, and entitled 'An act to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies,' and with intent to injure the property and business of the plaintiffs by means of acts done which are forbidden and declared to be unlawful by said act of Congress, entered into a combination and conspiracy to restrain the plaintiffs and their customers in States other than Connecticut in carrying on said trade and commerce among the several States and to wholly prevent them from engaging in and carrying on said trade and commerce between them and to prevent the plaintiffs from selling their hats to wholesale dealers and purchasers in said States other than Connecticut, and to prevent said dealers and customers in said other States from buying the same and to prevent the plaintiffs from obtaining orders for their hats from such customers and filling the same and shipping said hats to said customers in said States as aforesaid and thereby injure the plaintiffs in their property and business and to render unsalable the product and output of their said factory, so the subject of interstate commerce, in whosever's hands the same might be or come, through said interstate trade and commerce, and to employ as means to carry out said combination and conspiracy and the purposes thereof and accomplish the same, the following measures and acts, viz.:

"To cause, by means of threats and coercion, and without warning or information to the plaintiffs, the concerted and simultaneous withdrawal of all the makers and finishers of hats then working for them, who were not members of their said combination, The United Hatters of North America, as well as those who were such members, and thereby cripple the operation of the plaintiffs' factory, and prevent the plaintiffs from filling a large number of orders then on hand, from such wholesale dealers in States other than Connecticut, which they had engaged to fill and were then in the act of filling, as was well known to the defendants; in connection therewith to declare a boycott against all hats made for sale and sold and delivered, or to be so sold or delivered, by the plaintiffs to said wholesale dealers in States other than Connecticut, and to actively boycott the same and the business of those who should deal in them, and thereby prevent the sale of the same by those in whose hands they might be or come through said interstate trade in said several States; to procure and cause others of said combinations united with them in said A. F. of L. in like manner to declare a boycott against and to actively boycott the same and the business of such wholesale dealers as should buy or sell them, and of those who should purchase them from such wholesale dealers; to intimidate such wholesale dealers from purchasing or dealing in the hats of the plaintiffs by informing them that the A. F. of L. had declared a boycott

against the product of the plaintiffs and against any dealer who should handle it, and that the same was to be actively pressed against them, and by distributing circulars containing notices that such dealers and their customers were to be boycotted; to threaten with a boycott those customers who should buy any goods whatever, even though union made, of such boycotted dealers, and at the same time to notify such wholesale dealers that they were at liberty to deal in the hats of any other nonunion manufacturer of similar quality to those made by the plaintiffs, but must not deal in the hats made by the plaintiffs under threats of such boycotting; to falsely represent to said wholesale dealers and their customers, that the plaintiffs had discriminated against the union men in their employ, had thrown them out of employment because they refused to give up their union cards and teach boys, who were intended to take their places after seven months' instruction, and had driven their employees to extreme measures 'by their persistent, unfair, and un-American policy of antagonizing union labor, forcing wages to a starvation scale, and given boys and cheap, unskilled foreign labor preference over experienced and capable union workmen,' in order to intimidate said dealers from purchasing said hats by reason of the prejudice thereby created against the plaintiffs and the hats made by them among those who might otherwise purchase them; to use the said union label of said The United Hatters of North America as an instrument to aid them in carrying out said conspiracy and combination against the plaintiffs' and their customers' interstate aforesaid, and in connection with the boycotting above mentioned, for the purpose of describing and identifying the hats of the plaintiffs and singling them out to be so boycotted; to employ a large number of agents to visit said wholesale dealers and their customers, at their several places of business, and threaten them with loss of business if they should buy or handle the hats of the plaintiffs, and thereby prevent them from buying said hats, and in connection therewith to cause said dealers to be waited upon by committees representing large combinations of persons in their several localities to make similar threats to them; to use the daily press in the localities where such wholesale dealers reside, and do business, to announce and advertise the said boycotts against the hats of the plaintiffs and said wholesale dealers, and thereby make the same more effective and oppressive, and to use the columns of their said paper, The Journal of the United Hatters of North America, for that purpose, and to describe the acts of their said agents in prosecuting the same."

And then followed the averments that the defendants proceeded to carry out their combination to restrain and destroy interstate trade and commerce between plaintiffs and their customers in other States by employing the identical means contrived for that purpose; and that by reason of those acts plaintiffs were damaged in their business and property in some \$80,000.

We think a case within the statute was set up and that the demurrer should have been overruled.

Judgment reversed and cause remanded with a direction to proceed accordingly.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, that decision is the supreme law of the land, and a cynic has recently defined "the supreme law of the land" to be the last guess of the United States Supreme Court. In my opinion there is a great distinction between the legal responsibility of a corporation and a trades union. They differ widely. A corporation is an artificial person created by law, and what the State creates the State has a right to regulate. The trades union is a voluntary association of free individuals possessed of the same rights of action as belong to individuals and destitute of corporate rights and corporate responsibility. The judges and lawyers of England and America invented for labor unions the rule of corporate responsibility and sought to punish their acts as conspiracies in restraint of trade. This legal notion the English statute expressly abolished and made it lawful for an association of workmen to do whatever is legal for an individual workman to do. This wise legislation has been embodied in the laws of Pennsylvania, Michigan, and other enlightened Commonwealths. It has not yet been adopted by the Congress, but I feel confident that it will be and ought to be before this session adjourns, and then it must be recognized by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. Chairman, just a few words more. I want to say that I am now, always have been, and always expect to be the friend of the toilers of the country. Anything I can ever do, in Congress or out of Congress, to promote their interests and protect their rights I shall do cheerfully. I believe in the rights of man and in the dignity of labor. All that we are and all that we hope to be we owe to the workers of our country. This decision of the Supreme Court seems to regard the rights of hats as superior to the rights of man. In my opinion a labor union or a trades union organized to promote the interests and protect the rights of labor is not a trust, never was a trust, and never will be a trust, in the true contemplation and construction of the provisions of the so-called "antitrust act of 1890." I shall not at this time, however, discuss this matter in detail. Mr. Gompers has done that in a masterful way, and my object in taking the floor to-day was for the purpose of placing his views regarding this sweeping decision in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; and I trust that the legislation now demanded by the American Federation of Labor in this connection and in other matters of moment may be enacted into laws before this session of Congress adjourns. Labor appeals to us now from one end of the country to the other. The question of the hour is, Will the Congress hear? Will the Congress heed? Will the Congress respond?

Mr. BOWERS. I yield thirty minutes to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. BRUNDAGE].



Mr. BRUNDIDGE. Mr. Chairman, this being the long session of Congress, it is but natural and right that it should be expected to give due consideration to all matters of general legislation, and then to enact such laws as are demanded and needed by the country. But a very different policy from this we are given to understand has been agreed upon, which is that we are to hurry to their passage the appropriation bills, let all other legislation go, and adjourn not later than the 15th of May or sooner if possible. If this programme is to be carried out, and I doubt not but what it will be, it is significant in its meaning, for it means that all the needed legislation must necessarily wait until the next long session, which will be two years in the future.

No Congress ever had a better opportunity to pass both needed and beneficial legislation than this one has. Conditions seem to be exactly right, and they demand immediate action and not delay. From the Dakotas to Texas and from California to New York we have been overwhelmed with petitions, resolutions, and private letters from boards of trade, trades unions, farmers' unions, partnerships, and private citizens asking Congress to pass such laws as the business conditions and the industrial development of the country demand.

In addition to these the President has already sent us three messages, and I understand he is now busily engaged in the preparation of the fourth, which will be sent in in the next few days, urging Congress to pass needed laws. The greater part of the laws asked for in these messages are good and ought to be enacted. And if we persist in adjourning without passing them I sincerely hope that he will call an extra session before we get out of town, although I confess that I do not think he will do it. The future student of history will not waste much time in finding out what the first session of the Sixtieth Congress accomplished, but will find it a very interesting study to note the great number of things it left undone. Let me call attention to some of them, and my time will only permit me to do so briefly.

It is now plain that we are to have no river and harbor bill this Congress, and no money is to be appropriated for the improvement of our rivers and harbors this year. That this much-needed improvement is to be thus neglected is to be generally regretted, for never before has there been such a universal demand for river improvement as there is now from every quarter. There seems to be an enthusiasm and desire for river improvement never before known. The demand is to improve our rivers and thereby give us cheaper and better transportation facilities for our rapidly increasing productions. On the 26th of February the President sent a special message to Congress urging the necessity for river improvement, not next year or at some time in the future, but now, he says.

The report of the Waterways Commission, which he at the time transmitted, certainly shows the necessity for paying some attention to the message and its recommendations. It is shown by this report that we now have 25,000 miles of navigable rivers and 25,000 miles more that could be made navigable by proper improvement, not including canals and bays. With this splendid showing as to the number and length of these great natural highways of commerce, the startling information is given that while our rivers are the best, yet they are at the same time less used and more generally neglected than are those of any other civilized country in the world. Our attention is also called to the fact that much of the money heretofore appropriated for river improvement has been wasted, because of the fact that a sufficient sum had not been given to carry on successfully the work undertaken.

Nowhere can this almost criminal neglect of waterway improvement be more clearly shown and demonstrated than in my own State. The State of Arkansas has almost, if not quite, as many miles of navigable rivers as has any State in the Union. Yet the sum annually expended for their improvement by the Government is so small that Congress and everybody connected with it ought to be ashamed of it.

We are not even permitted to have an engineer to reside in the State, and all estimates made and submitted to the War Department and to Congress as to the character of the improvements to be made, and the amount of money to be expended therefor, must be made by an engineer who resides in another State.

The efforts of the entire delegation of the State to have a competent engineer sent to Little Rock have been unavailing, and we must still wait to see how much longer this injustice is to continue.

The next important legislation we are neglecting is the failure to pass a drainage bill. If one should be passed, as it ought to be, it would just now serve a double purpose. It would serve primarily to aid in navigation and greatly benefit the public health, and it would serve, in the second place, to redeem in

many of our States thousands and hundreds of thousands of acres of the most fertile and valuable lands they have in them; would convert them from worthless, valueless swamps into magnificent farms and plantations. These lands would find their way upon the tax books and would aid in bearing the burdens of taxation in the different States and would add untold millions to the permanent and lasting wealth of this country.

We are further confronted with the fact that we are to have no employers' liability act passed. And this is another one of the pressing necessities for legislation that the President has called the attention of Congress to in one of his special messages and one I think that ought to be acted upon. For when we remember how difficult it is in the several States to have a good and sufficient employers' liability act passed by the State legislature, for the reason that the railroad companies have generally been enabled by some influence or in some manner to prevent it, it does seem to me that it is high time that Congress should set the splendid example by passing the act the President has asked to have passed, and yet everybody now knows that we are not even going to be given an opportunity to consider such a bill.

It is also a matter of common knowledge that there will be no public buildings bill this year, or if there is one, it is to be a very small and insignificant affair. My information is that there are bills pending before this Congress asking for public buildings in the different States that would require an expenditure of something like \$80,000,000, and they, too, are not to be considered.

Towns and cities are to-day suffering for the lack of adequate and suitable public buildings. Communities without number are to-day deprived of a decent post-office building from which to get their mail and must continue to go to buildings which are inadequate, unsanitary, crowded to overflowing, and totally insufficient, but they must endure the ills and wrongs for two more years at least, for Congress wants to make a record this year for economy. Therefore we can have no public buildings bill.

Likewise it is reasonably certain that there will be no kind of legislation in behalf of labor. Some of their demands at least are meritorious and ought to be granted. For instance, the frequent and indiscriminate use and abuse of the injunction power by the Federal judiciary ought to be regulated and controlled and made so as to apply only to cases of violations of the law, and never used where it becomes the means of oppression and a menace to personal rights, individual liberty, and freedom.

The President has also asked that the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission be increased, to enable them more effectively to regulate and control railroad traffic, to correct existing abuses, and prevent, if possible, discriminations, not only in the matter of rates charged but also unreasonable and unjust delays in the handling of freight and furnishing cars; but this, like the rest, must wait two years more, or even longer, and the chances are good for a greater delay.

Finally, I presume that no man now believes that there is to be any currency legislation that will be of any benefit to the country. And after listening with much interest to the speech of the learned gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PRINCE], who has just concluded his remarks, I have thoroughly reached the conclusion that, while the Senate may pass the Aldrich bill, the House will reject it. And should the House pass the Fowler bill, it will meet its defeat in the Senate. With this action I am not displeased, for I am convinced that both of these bills are in the sole interest of the national banks and would be of no benefit or advantage to anyone else. If these bills, especially the Fowler bill, should pass, it would be the sounding of the death knell to all State banks and would compel them to retire from business, leaving the national banks entirely in control of all the currency of the country, a condition not desired and earnestly hoped will never occur.

But whatever else may be said of the present agitation of the money question, at least some good has been the result of it. For instance, the entire country has been brought to a realization of the fact that we now have the worst currency system in the world, and we are fast beginning to realize that the sooner the present partnership and unholy alliance existing between the United States Government and the national banks is dissolved the better for everybody concerned, except the banks. Under existing law a national bank must own an interest-bearing Government bond before it can issue bank notes, but when it does own such a bond it has the right, and has had ever since the currency law of March 14, 1900, to issue the full amount of that bond in notes that circulate as money, and from the very moment of the issue of these notes the bank is placed in the advantageous position of drawing interest both ways or drawing double interest on the amount invested in

the bond. First, it draws interest from the Government on the bond in a sum ranging from 2 to 4 per cent per annum, and, second, it draws interest from the people on the bank notes in a sum ranging from 8 to 10 per cent per annum; hence it is but natural that the banks should have a fondness for interest-bearing Government bonds and continue their desire to own them, as is shown by their increased holdings of the same from year to year. As evidence of this fact I shall here insert a letter and statement which I have only recently received from the Comptroller of the Currency, showing this phenomenal increase for the past four years. The letter is as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,  
Washington, February 25, 1908.

Hon. S. BRUNDIDGE, Jr., M. C.  
House of Representatives.

SIR: Your letter of the 24th instant, addressed to the Secretary of the Treasury, is referred to this office. In compliance with the request therein the following information in connection with bonds on deposit by national banks to secure circulation is furnished:

	February 28, 1905.	February 28, 1906.	February 28, 1907.	February 25, 1908.
2 per cent, 1930.....	\$429,024,300	\$499,104,000	\$495,820,700	\$563,818,850
8 per cent.....	2,527,540	1,958,240	4,398,020	9,797,020
4 per cent.....	10,236,300	10,784,200	35,709,150	16,675,750
P. O., 2 per cent.....			17,028,080	34,459,280
Certificates, 3 per cent.....				15,436,500
Total.....	441,788,140	511,846,440	552,955,950	640,187,400

Respectfully,

T. P. KANE,  
Deputy Comptroller.

From this statement it will be seen that the banks have increased their holdings of bonds over \$200,000,000 in the past four years, which is a most remarkable and rapid increase. The Government is now paying these banks annually, in interest alone, more than \$16,000,000 as a bonus for the privilege of permitting them to issue currency to the full amount of the bonds. It will be remembered that only last fall the Secretary of the Treasury sold \$15,000,000 of bonds bearing 3 per cent interest. These were sold only to the banks, and on these we pay them annually \$450,000 in interest, while they were only required to pay into the United States Treasury 10 per cent of the purchase price. Ninety per cent thereof was very generously left in their own vaults.

These are not all of the advantages they enjoy. As often as they demand it the Government rushes to their aid with a deposit of untold millions of the public funds, which they hold without the payment of one cent of interest. They seem to understand that it is the province of the Government to pay interest, but not to receive it.

It is a strange coincidence that during a panic these financial institutions can and do, in violation of law, refuse to pay their depositors the money due them, and at the same time always have plenty of gold to buy all the bonds offered and complain because the amount sold is not larger.

When we recall the fact that a money stringency always produces a panic, and a panic always produces another bond issue and a further increase of the interest-bearing public debt, the only surprising thing about the whole business is that we do not have panics more often than we do.

If Congress would only repeal the law making these interest-bearing bonds the basis of securing this bank-note currency, it would go a long way toward settling the currency question and would remove the greatest temptation for creating a panic that has ever existed. The fact is that under present conditions there is every reason why the banks should pay the Government interest and not one valid reason for the Government paying interest to them.

Mr. Chairman, I want it understood that the failure to correct these evils and all the responsibility therefor rest alone with the Republican majority of this House. A majority of the Democrats would be glad to vote for them, but the other side are determined that we shall have no opportunity to do so, at least at this session. I believe in economy, and there should be no extravagant expenditure of the public funds; but under present conditions what is most needed just now is a liberal and broad-gauged Congress, for with more than \$260,000,000 idle in the Treasury and several hundred thousand men and women idle throughout the country at the same time, we have a condition clearly showing that something is radically wrong. The truth is that just at this time the Government needs the labor and labor needs employment. Then, why not give it to them by making these long-needed internal improvements? If we should

do so, the panic would be at an end at once; everybody who wanted employment could get it, and business would once again resume its natural and uninterrupted course.

For the last few days we have been frequently told by our Republican friends that the panic was over; that it had only lasted ninety days, and there was now no longer depression in the business world. But the facts do not justify these statements, and no man can blind himself to the fact that the great army of the unemployed is increasing daily. It was only a short time ago that more than a thousand men marching through the streets of Philadelphia were clubbed and beaten by the mounted police when their only offense was going to see his lordship the mayor to ask for employment.

The railroads everywhere are discharging their employees by the thousands and reducing the wages of those they retain. Only last week the cotton mills of the New England States made a reduction of 10 per cent from the wages of a hundred and sixty-five thousand employees. We have returned to the days of the soup house, and the charitable associations of every great city are now taxed to their utmost to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, and this deplorable condition could all be changed if Congress would only pass the legislation needed. Then, why do we not do it?

The best reason yet given for the failure to do so is that this is the election year, and we must go before the country with a record made for economy and show how much the majority has saved to the Treasury by its refusal to legislate. The people must be again faked by this old-time worn confidence game of deception which is attempted to be worked just before each national election. Can and will it again succeed? Is the question that must be answered next November. I am inclined to believe that the people will not allow themselves to be fooled again, but will wake up to a full realization of the facts as they exist. When they do they will find a Republican majority in both the House and Senate halting and retarding every progressive step, and by so doing they are day by day swelling the ranks of the idle and unemployed. Who can calculate or even estimate the misery and suffering that will necessarily follow the pursuit of such a policy, and if it is to continue may we not expect the great army of voters to rise early in the morning of the next November election and hasten to the polls and there register with their ballots their solemn protest against a further lease of power to a party who withheld relief from the needy at a time when the Treasury was fairly bursting with useless money and thus demonstrated its incapacity to govern more than \$0,000,000 of progressive and intelligent people? If the conditions remain as they are the next election will prove to be a great surprise unless a change speedily comes. When the sun goes down that evening behind the western horizon you need not be surprised to find that it has gilded with its golden rays one of the greatest victories the Democratic party has ever won. [Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. KEIFER. I should like to ask unanimous consent that all Members who have spoken or who may speak in general debate on this bill may extend their remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will say to the gentleman from Ohio that that can not be done in Committee of the Whole. It will have to be done in the House.

Mr. BOWERS. I yield thirty minutes, or so much thereof as he may require, to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. FLOYD].

Mr. FLOYD. Mr. Chairman, I desire to discuss the President's special message in connection with the trust question, with which it chiefly deals. I think all will agree that the President's recent message to Congress is the most forceful document that has yet emanated from the pen of that remarkable man in the White House. It is not my purpose to pass a general encomium upon it, as some have done, nor to criticize the motives of the President, as others have done. Conceding honesty of purpose to its author, I regard it and shall treat it as an able state paper, transmitted to Congress by the Chief Magistrate of the nation, reflecting his views upon grave questions of public concern which, in my judgment, call for the thoughtful and serious consideration of every member of this body, regardless of his party affiliations.

While I differ widely from the President as to the primary causes of the evils complained of, and also as to the means whereby these evils may be uprooted and destroyed, as I shall take occasion to point out in the course of my remarks, I certainly sacrifice none of my self-respect, or loyalty to my own party, when I say that I consider the aims of the President, as set forth in this message, highly commendable.

I heartily favor his recommendation for the passage of an



employers' liability act. I indorse and approve the bold stand he has taken in this message for the enforcement of the law. I commend him for his demand for honesty in high financial transactions; for his denunciation of those engaged in dealing in futures and "stock-gambling" schemes, and for his earnest recommendations for further legislation to curb existing evils in the body politic.

On the contrary, there are a number of specific recommendations for new legislation contained in this and former messages of the President which do not meet with my approval.

I can not agree with the President in his recommendation for a national incorporation law. Such a law would be repugnant to both the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, as that instrument has been interpreted for a hundred years, and would be subversive of the rights of the States. If under the new theory of constitutional interpretation advanced by Mr. Root, Secretary of State, such a law should be passed and upheld by the courts, it would prove a dangerous extension of Federal authority. It is not necessary to either destroy or stretch the Federal Constitution in order to suppress the trust evil. Ample power is lodged in Congress and in the legislatures of the several States, if rightly exercised, to wipe this monstrous evil from the entire domain of the United States. [Applause.]

I can not agree with the President in his recommendation to provide for a Federal license or tax for corporations engaged in interstate commerce. While there is probably no constitutional bar to such legislation, yet, in my judgment, the effect of it would be to perpetuate forever the trust evil in our industrial and commercial system.

Trusts, in the sense in which I shall use the term, are vast combinations of capital consolidated for the purpose of controlling prices or which in the conduct of their affairs operate in restraint of trade. All such combinations I regard as great evils. I do not possess that nice power of discrimination which permits me to follow the President in that delicate differentiation of thought which enables him to classify these great aggregations of capital, consolidated for purposes of monopoly, into good trusts and bad trusts. I regard all as bad. And that is the position of the Democratic party. Every corporation or combination of corporations enjoying a monopoly should have all its affairs subjected to the most rigid supervision, regulation, and control by law. If any such concern seeks to conduct its business and affairs in defiance of law, it should be destroyed. In no other way can the unoffending public be protected from the rapacity and greed of giant monopolies.

I can not agree with the President in his recommendation for an amendment to the Sherman antitrust law so as to enable the railroads, in certain cases, to enter into agreements and combinations now prohibited by law. This, in my opinion, would be a step in the wrong direction in our efforts to control and regulate the affairs of our great interstate railroads. This is based upon the fallacy already alluded to that we have good combinations and bad combinations. All combinations in restraint of trade are bad.

The chief value of the President's message, as I see it, consists not in the remedies proposed. Some of these are good, some are vague and uncertain, and others are of doubtful character, which, if enacted into law, might be far-reaching and dangerous in their tendencies. The chief value of the document is found in the fact that he, as President of the United States, in open defiance of large and powerful elements in his own party, grown arrogantly rich under and by virtue of existing conditions and laws, brings to the attention of Congress and the country in a forcible manner the chicanery, the frauds, the wrongful manipulations, and the dishonest transactions of high financiers in the management of great corporate concerns against the common rights of the whole American people.

Here I desire to call special attention to that portion of the President's message beginning with the paragraph on page 12, which is as follows:

The attacks by these great corporations on the Administration's actions have been given a wide circulation throughout the country, in the newspapers and otherwise, by those writers and speakers who, consciously or unconsciously, act as the representatives of predatory wealth—of the wealth accumulated on a giant scale by all forms of iniquity, ranging from the oppression of wage-workers to unfair and unwholesome methods of crushing out competition, and to defrauding the public by stock jobbing and the manipulation of securities. Certain wealthy men of this stamp, whose conduct should be abhorrent to every man of ordinarily decent conscience, and who commit the hideous wrong of teaching our young men that phenomenal business success must ordinarily be based on dishonesty, have during the last few months made it apparent that they have banded together to work for a reaction. Their endeavor is to overthrow and discredit all who honestly administer the law, to prevent any additional legislation which would check and restrain them, and to secure if possible a freedom from all restraint which will permit every unscrupulous wrongdoer to do what he wishes unchecked provided he has enough money.

Mr. Chairman, this is strong language indeed. Evil conditions are graphically described and forcefully portrayed. Wrongdoers in high places are fearlessly assailed and their business methods bitterly denounced by the Chief Executive of the nation. Yet the President has told us nothing new. The conditions described and the evils complained of by the President in this message were not unknown to the public. The Democrats, on the stump, through the press, in the halls of Congress, in their State platforms, and in their national platforms since 1896 have kept these conditions and evils constantly before the American people. They have pointed out and suggested numerous remedies therefor, some of which, I am glad to say, have found favor with the President. The subject of railroad-rate legislation affords an illustration in point. The demand for this character of legislation was embodied in the national Democratic platforms of 1896, 1900, and 1904.

The Democratic national platform of 1896 declares:

The absorption of wealth by the few, the consolidation of our leading railroad systems, and the formation of trusts and pools require a stricter control by the Federal Government of those arteries of commerce. We demand the enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and such restrictions and guarantees in the control of railroads as will protect the people from robbery and oppression.

The Democratic national platform of 1900 declares:

We favor such an enlargement of the scope of the interstate-commerce law as will enable the Commission to protect the individuals and communities from discriminations, and the public from unjust and unfair transportation rates.

The Democratic national platform of 1904 declares:

We demand the enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission to the end that the traveling public and shippers of this country may have prompt and adequate relief for the abuses to which they are subjected in the matter of transportation. We demand a strict enforcement of existing civil and criminal statutes against all such trusts, combinations, and monopolies, and we demand the enactment of such further legislation as may be necessary to effectually suppress them.

No such demand is found in the Republican national platforms for any of those years; and, while it is true that individual Members on that side of the Chamber had previously introduced bills upon the subject, the first demand for this character of legislation coming from a high, authoritative Republican source is to be found in the President's annual message at the first session of the Fifty-ninth Congress, when he recommended the passage of the railroad rate bill. This one important measure has given President Roosevelt more popularity throughout the country than any other act of his Administration, and yet it was in keeping with specific demands of three successive Democratic national platforms. The act itself was passed in Congress by a practically unanimous vote in both Houses, Democrats and Republicans alike voting for it, with the exception of seven Republicans in the House and one Republican and two Democrats in the Senate, who voted against it. Hence the charge often made, not without foundation, that the President has profited in popularity by the absorption and appropriation of Democratic ideas and Democratic policies.

Mr. Chairman, there are three distinct and separate views upon the trust question. I hold in my hand a book entitled "The Raid on Prosperity," written by Chancellor Day, of Syracuse University, of New York. In this book Chancellor Day discredits the President and his Administration in his efforts for reform, and seeks to discredit reform movements from whatever source. He defends industrial combinations and their management in their entirety. He devotes three chapters to the Standard Oil Company; defends it and justifies all its methods. According to this learned publicist, the men in control of the great corporations and trusts are not malefactors, but the greatest benefactors of mankind. Present industrial conditions are ideal, and especially beneficial to laboring men. The evils from which we suffer are not due to these corporations or to the men at their heads, but are solely due to agitators, disturbers, and demagogues. This view is clearly set forth in an address delivered by Chancellor Day before a bankers' association at Albany, N. Y., on the 8th of last month, which was reported in the Washington Post, from which I clip the following extract:

The trouble has not been that our great geniuses of commerce and manufacture have become malefactors. The world has no nobler men. The trouble has been that the muck and slime of the vilifiers have been flung over them.

What of our future? If you will stop the ravings of the demagogues; if you serve vigorous notice on the men who are defaming our business men and discrediting our trade by representing our products as the sum of all villainy in fraud and adulteration; if you will call to account the men who are depreciating our bonds and stocks in foreign markets by comparing our great center of brokerage and exchange with a den of thieves; if you will insist that our great railways shall have fair play in their efforts to make new adjustments and to meet the demand of a fabulously developing country; if the whole people will rise up out of suspicion, distrust, and ignorance concerning economic conditions and insist that no man shall have their votes or their following who defames his country, sixty days will put an end to these hard times,

and they will not return while we maintain our self-respect and insist that the rich and the poor shall live and work together in harmony under the guiding providence of that God who made them all.

#### BLOOD WILL FLOW.

But if you acquiesce and by silence consent to the infamous work of the scandal mongers and permit the widening of the chasm between our thrifty classes and the restless anarchistic Socialists; if you indifferently look on and utter no word of protest against an agitation that invites the anarchist to sharpen his dagger and that appeals to the poor to take the property of the rich with violence because it has been stolen from them; if you admit the justice and righteousness of these assaults upon the mighty forms of our finance, manufacture, and trade, and the estates of the successful in the development of our industries, I prophesy, as I did the panic more than a year ago from the same causes, that before another half decade blood will flow in our streets and the night rider's torch will light the heavens with its appalling glare.

Chancellor Day is an eminent man; he is at the head of a great institution of learning in the Empire State. He speaks not for himself alone, but for a class. By such utterances he reflects the views and sentiments of the greatly rich, with all their allied interests and with their tens of thousands of followers, beneficiaries, and sycophants. According to this view, all industrial combinations are good things and the men at their heads are all right.

The President in his message reflects the views of the reform element of his own party, of which he is the conspicuous head. According to this view, trusts may be classified into combinations that are beneficial and useful and combinations that are harmful; or, in other words, into good trusts and bad trusts. Those who entertain this view think that good combinations should be let alone and encouraged, but that something should be done to relieve the public from the oppression and wrongdoings of bad combinations. This view falls far short of the Democratic position upon the trust question. It is too narrow and circumscribed to comprehend within its scope some of the very worst forms of evil from which the American people are suffering to-day. It entirely ignores legalized frauds resulting from the operation of unjust and discriminatory laws. It also ignores evils that are inherent in and the natural outgrowth of every system of monopoly, entirely independent of the fact as to whether the men in control are well disposed or ill disposed. The Democratic party takes the broader and more comprehensive view of the subject than does the President and most of the reform members of his own party.

Now I desire to give you the Democratic view upon the trust question, not in my own words, but in the language of the last national Democratic platform:

#### TRUSTS AND UNLAWFUL COMBINES.

We recognize that the gigantic trusts and combinations designed to enable capital to secure more than its just share of the joint products of capital and labor, and which have been fostered and promoted under Republican rule, are a menace to beneficial competition and an obstacle to permanent business prosperity.

A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable. Individual equality of opportunity and free competition are essential to a healthy and permanent commercial prosperity, and any trust, combination, or monopoly tending to destroy these by controlling production, restricting competition, or fixing prices should be prohibited and punished by law. We especially denounce rebates and discrimination by transportation companies as the most potent agency in promoting and strengthening these unlawful conspiracies against trade.

So much for conditions; so much for theories.

Now, let us turn to the consideration of practical remedies. In order that we may provide appropriate remedies for any evil, we should first analyze the same and ascertain the nature, character, and extent of such evil. Brushing aside the glow of inflammatory declamation and pyrotechnical denunciation and considering the question in the light of logic and cold facts, this analysis becomes exceedingly plain and simple. The conditions complained of in the President's message and the evils resulting therefrom may all be classed under one general head of "corporate abuses." These corporate abuses may be divided into three general classes, namely: Abuses resulting from law violations, abuses arising from absence of or lack of proper laws of restraint, and evils resulting from bad laws.

First. I desire to call your attention to abuses resulting from violations of existing laws by the directors, agents, and officers of corporations who control their management.

The remedy for this class of evils is to punish offenders for violations of the law. If the penalties now prescribed are not severe enough to restrain the wrongdoers, amend the law and fix heavier penalties. I have no objection to imposing a fine upon the corporation also. This, however, should not be used as a reason or excuse for allowing the guilty agents to go free. Nor have I one particle of sympathy with that sentiment that excuses the subordinate for the violation of law committed in obedience to the commands of his chief or some other high officer of the corporation. I think that every man, however humble his position, ought to be made to understand and know that the mandates of the law of the land are higher than the mandates of any corporation chief, however great his wealth or

however powerful his influence. I therefore insist that every officer and agent of a corporation, be his position high or low, who willfully violates any of the provisions of existing law, should be made to suffer the penalties prescribed for such offense. A few conspicuous examples of rich men in the penitentiary or in the common prisons would do more to break up this species of evil than an hundred \$29,000,000 fines imposed upon the corporations themselves. [Applause.]

Second. I desire to call your attention to corporate abuses arising from the absence of laws on the statute books to properly prohibit and restrain directors, officers, and agents of corporations from doing things which are unfair, unjust, and morally wrong, to the detriment of the public in the organization of and in the conduct and management of their corporate affairs.

The remedy for all such abuses is to enact new laws to prohibit and restrain the wrongdoing, to fix adequate penalties for their violation, and to rigidly enforce such laws against all offenders.

Third. I desire to call your attention to corporate abuses arising from the operation of bad laws, the effect of which is to foster and build up monopolies and trusts with all their attendant evils. In this class are all laws granting special franchises, subsidies, and gratuities to corporations; also all laws the effect of which in their operation is to give special privileges and law-made profits to certain classes, such as our high protective laws now in force.

The remedy for this last-named class of abuses is to repeal or modify the bad laws.

It is significant that this form of evil seems to have escaped the serious attention of the President. It is idle to rail at men as rich malefactors and yet maintain in full force and effect upon our statute books a system of unfair, unjust, and discriminatory laws that have made them rich and taught them to be malefactors. Blinded by their loyalty to a bad party policy—the policy of protection—neither the President nor any considerable number of his party associates seem to be able to look around behind the great protective tariff wall they have built with their own hands and see where the trusts are coming from.

The fatal defect in the President's message and in the general policies of his Administration in dealing with the trust question is that he does not seem to comprehend the very close and beneficial relation between the high protective tariff and the trusts. The high protective tariff system is the very paladium of all the trusts. It is the strong redoubt behind which those classes grown rich and insolent by special privileges are strongly intrenched and securely protected. The remedy, in my judgment, which would be more effectual than all others in curbing the trusts lies within the clear scope of Congressional legislation. The remedy I refer to is the immediate revision and reduction of the high tariff schedules under the Dingley law. Under the operations of this law hundreds of industrial combinations have been formed, until almost every commodity of daily use is manufactured and sold by a trust.

Trusts are everywhere. The high tariff is the arm of the law that upholds and supports them. Paraphrasing a couplet from Burns—

Combines are like poppies spread,  
You touch the tariff, and their bloom is shed.

The remedy for any evil, to be effective, must be applied to conditions and laws that have made possible the existence of such evil. In this case the evils complained of are the accumulation of vast and unlimited fortunes, great aggregations of capital, and a dangerous concentration of wealth in the hands of a few men, whom the President characterizes as "rich malefactors." This condition arises from two principal causes, already referred to, which bear a marked relation to each other. The one cause arises from laws upon our statute books, the effect of which is to grant special privileges to the manufacturing classes, and thereby enables them to augment their gains by arbitrary prices, resulting in large profits. Such is the effect of the high-protective schedules of the Dingley law. The other cause arises from the absence of laws upon our statute books to properly control and regulate the affairs of great corporate interests and their management. In other words, the one cause is the high protective tariff; the other is the unrestrained combination and consolidation of different corporate interests under one head, known as a trust. These twin sisters of iniquity walk arm in arm for the accomplishment of evil and evil continually.

The object and purpose of the one is to cut off foreign competition. The object and purpose of the other is to eliminate and destroy domestic or home competition. Unite the two for the one common purpose of destroying all competition, as they



are to-day united in these United States, and you place the great toiling masses of the liberty-loving American people at the absolute mercy of a damnable coalition between legalized robbery and unrestrained greed. [Applause.]

Such is our exact condition to-day. The American people are ground down, as it were, between two millstones, and the wealth of the nation is rapidly, rapidly aggregating into the hands of a few. Who can gainsay it! The high tariff keeps out the foreigner; he no longer competes. The trust unites all concerns engaged in any one particular line of industry under one head or management, thus and thereby eliminating domestic or home competition, and in consequence thereof the American laborer, the American farmer, and all the great consuming classes of whatever vocation or calling are compelled to pay for every article of food or raiment of necessity or comfort the arbitrary and extortionate price fixed by the trust.

The Constitution guarantees free trade between the States. The trust annuls that provision of the Constitution, or renders it nugatory. We have in effect no free trade anywhere. The trust not only controls the wholesale price, but also fixes the retail price of goods sold by its customers, and enforces its mandates by a species of boycott.

Let me give you an illustration in point. The cotton-thread trust, or that concern which has gained control of all the spool cotton thread manufactured in the United States, last summer sent an agent to Bentonville, Ark., a town in my district of about 3,000 inhabitants, with many thriving merchants who have always competed with each other for business and for trade, to notify all these local merchants to raise the price of spool cotton thread to 6 cents per spool. Some of the merchants had been selling it at 5 cents per spool. One of the most prominent firms in town refused to comply with the demand, claiming the right to sell their goods at any price they saw proper to charge. The trust agent returned to the East, and in a few days this firm received a letter from the headquarters of the trust stating that unless they raised the price of spool cotton thread to 6 cents per spool no more spool cotton thread would be shipped to their firm. Feeling indignant at such treatment, this local firm replied that they had never purchased any goods from the firm making this unreasonable demand upon them; that they purchased all their spool cotton thread from a wholesale house doing business in their own town, and that they would continue to sell cotton thread to 5 cents per spool.

In a few days the wholesale house referred to received a communication from the agent of the trust forbidding them to sell any more spool cotton thread to this recalcitrant firm, and warning them that if they did so no more spool cotton thread would be shipped to the said wholesale house. Yet this is free America under the reign of the trusts.

But the evil does not stop there. Not content with destroying all forms of competition, these trusts dishonestly enhance their profits by degrading and cheapening the quality of every article and product manufactured and sold by them.

I received a letter just the other day from a constituent of mine, written at the request of his neighbors, calling my attention to certain frauds along this line, and appealing to me, as their Representative in Congress, to aid in the passage of some measure to give the people relief from such impositions. Hear his letter:

J. C. FLOYD.

CHOCTAW, ARK., February 4, 1908.

DEAR SIR: The good-food law is a good thing. I have been requested by a large number of old Democrats of this county to ask you to get up a bill to prohibit the false packing in shoes and harness. You know that if we false pack a bale of cotton or anything it is a heavy fine. We want pure shoes, pure harness, pure tobacco, pure flour, pure coffee. For the tin tags on tobacco we pay from 35 to 50 cents per pound, which is a fraud. We get shoes here with paper and felt soles; felt heels with one leather tap on them. This is the greatest expense that Arkansas has to contend with. Can Congress help us? Or will they do it?

W. J. COLVIN.

This is a humble petition. It was written neither for show nor for publication, and comes from a little settlement of farmers down in the mountains of Van Buren County, Ark., remote from railroads and the great centers of trade. These people are honest, hard-working people, and have their farms on a little stream known as the Choctaw; yet this letter sets forth simple and plain facts which show the low, mean, despicable methods to which these gigantic corporations resort in order to add millions to their already ill-gotten millions by frauds and impositions practiced upon the humble tillers of the soil. Can Congress help them? Or will they do it? What is the trouble? There are many avowed enemies of the trusts in the Republican party. Whenever we bring up this trust question our friends on the other side of the Chamber point with pride to the record of President Roosevelt and his vigorous fight against the trusts and trust methods. Yes; he it said to his

credit, the President, breaking away from the stand-pat policies of his own party, has for seven years been waging a constant and sometimes bitter and acrimonious warfare against the trusts. Yet they have grown and multiplied.

And now the President tells us in this very message that they have recently banded together to work for a reaction; that they now seek to overthrow what has already been accomplished; to thwart further new legislation to curb and restrain them, and to bring about, if possible, a condition of affairs that will afford them absolute freedom from all restraint. The people of the United States appreciate the efforts of the President in his fight against the trusts; yet I think it may be truthfully said that never since Don Quixote had his celebrated encounter with the windmills has gallant knight, armed with sword and buckler, spurred and panoplied and plumed with all the equipage of glorious war, waged such persistent contest with such fruitless results. But let us deal fairly with the President. The fault is not altogether or chiefly with him. True, he has sometimes misapplied his blows. He has denounced men when he should have denounced men and systems. He has prosecuted corporations when he should have prosecuted corporations and men. The Standard Oil Company has been fined \$29,000,000; the guilty agents of the corporation have been permitted to go free. The fine has not been paid and may never be paid, but if it is, what benefit comes to the public if the Standard Oil Company is permitted to recoup its losses by some other high stroke of finance that will bring to its coffers millions in excess of the fine? [Applause.]

I tell you that the principal source of these evils is in the system and in the condition of our laws rather than the result of wrongful acts of individual men. Rockefeller, Rogers, and Harriman will pass as all mortals must pass in this transitory world, but when these imperious Cæsars are dead and turned to clay others will rise up in their stead and do the same things that their fathers have done until we change and modify existing laws, until we make new laws to prohibit and restrain corporations from further acts of oppression, and until we make laws to suppress evils that are inherent in and the inevitable outgrowth of our present trust-controlled industrial and commercial systems.

The President in this and former messages has brought many matters to the attention of Congress and made many valuable recommendations which would prove beneficial if enacted into law.

The President has recommended an income-tax law. No effort has been made by the President's party to provide for an income tax by constitutional amendment or otherwise.

The President has recommended an inheritance tax. No effort has been made by the President's party to provide for an inheritance tax.

The President asked for an employer's liability act. He was given an unconstitutional measure.

The President asked for a railroad-rate law. He was given a railroad-rate law, but it has proven insufficient, and the President is now asking that the same be amended and strengthened in a number of particulars in order that the Interstate Commerce Commission may regulate more effectually our interstate railroads.

The President recommends that something be done to prohibit manipulations in stocks and stock-gambling schemes. Yet the leaders of the President's party seem to be doing nothing looking to the correction of these great evils.

Yet all the while the leaders of the President's party on the floor of this House have been loudly proclaiming that they indorse the President's policies. For neither the President nor anybody else claims that these are Republican policies. They are "his"—the President's policies. This thing has gone on until many people have been led to question the sincerity of the President himself in his advocacy of reform legislation. There are others who do not know what to think. They can not make up their minds as to whether he is a statesman and a genuine reformer or a politician of consummate skill, constantly fulfilling his ideas of reform before Congress in brilliant messages, scintillating with the fire of patriotic fervor, as grand-stand plays before the American people. However that may be, it is true that very little has been accomplished; and very little will ever be accomplished without vigorous legislative action. We can not shift this great responsibility upon the President.

The responsibility is upon us as lawmakers. The remedy rests with the lawmaking power. The corporation is a creature of the law. A trust is a great corporation or a combination of corporations, and, hence, likewise a creature of the law. Neither the corporation nor the trusts have any inalienable rights. What the law creates the law can destroy, or can regulate, control, or restrain within limits. This should be done by the State

if the corporation is acting within the exclusive jurisdiction or control of the State, and by the National Government if acting within the scope of Federal authority. If the lawmaking power in the State or in the National Government neglects or refuses to do its duty, the ultimate remedy rests with the people. In that event it is for the people to rise in revolt against their own leaders and hurl from power any party that favors or fosters legislative policies which operate to give special privileges to the rich against the poor. Yea, more! It is for the people to rise up in their sovereign might and strike down any man, regardless of party, who stands for legislation in favor of the classes as against the masses.

I have already submitted to you the Democratic position upon the trust question. I insist it is the only correct position, and must ultimately triumph. Fellow-Democrats, let us rally to the fight with renewed energy. The Republican party has utterly failed to deal successfully with the trust evil. This special message of the President is tantamount to a confession of that failure. The relief of the people from present bad conditions can only be secured through Democratic success. The war is on for industrial supremacy in this country, and the Republican party is closely allied with the trusts. The issue is sharply drawn between plutocracy on the one hand, and democracy, or the people, on the other. The insolence and oppressions of the greatly rich, and the disasters resulting from a widespread money panic, make conditions ripe for a change in the national Administration.

But let no one imagine that such a contest can be easily won. Those who would combat these forces of error with their millions of hoarded and ill-gotten gold, with their tens of millions of allies and hired emissaries, should have the zeal of martyrs and the courage of true patriots. This is no new fight. It is the old, old struggle of the ages. It is the struggle of the greatly rich seeking to gain and maintain privileges by law, or tolerated under the law, opposed and resisted by the masses constituting the great body of the people. The issue plainly stated is whether the combines and trusts shall control the Government or whether the Government shall control the combines and trusts.

In such a contest and on such an issue the Democratic party can and of right ought to win. It has ever been the enemy of plutocracy and special privileges. It has ever been the friend of the poor and oppressed. It has ever been the champion of equal rights and equal opportunities.

The prospects for Democratic success were never brighter. President Roosevelt has split the Republican party on the trust question, as President Cleveland during his second Administration split the Democratic party on the money question. All that we have to do in order to win is to unite all our forces and stand firmly and unalterably by the time-honored principles of Democracy, and millions of patriotic Americans, to whom these principles are ever dear, will rally to our support in this great civic conflict and will crown our efforts with a glorious victory. [Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. BOWERS. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, the House being in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the purpose of considering the annual appropriation for pensions, I desire to remonstrate and enter my protest on St. Patrick's day in the morning against existing laws governing the granting of pensions and the arbitrary and unjust rules and practices adopted by the Committees on Pensions.

It appears to me that the laws have been made to prevent, rather than give, pensions to that class of men who, by their heroism and bravery, made it possible for this nation to become the greatest of all nations.

No discretionary powers rest in the officials of the Pension Bureau. Technicalities are always in favor of the Government and against the poor soldiers, half of whom die trying to get that to which they are justly entitled.

All admit that every general law oftentimes works injustice. Pension laws should, however, be drafted out of a goodly mixture of gratitude, generosity, and justice.

Authority should be given the Commissioner of Pensions or a board of commissioners to pass upon all claims, according to the individual merit of each claim.

This authority rests in the hands of the Pension Committee. Likewise in the Invalid Pension Committee. But these committees have time to pass upon a few only of the many worthy and deserving bills introduced by the Members of Congress and referred to them.

If it is right, if it is just and fair for these committees to pass upon a few bills, why should not all of these bills be passed upon and accepted or rejected, according to the evidence and merit of the claimant?

During this session of the Sixtieth Congress in the neighborhood of 25,000 bills will be introduced in the House alone.

How many will be acted upon? Not so many likely as 2,000. What about those left in the pigeonhole?

Comrade Smith is helpless, blind, or partially so; perhaps paralyzed; possibly he has no property, no income except his pittance doled out by the Government.

A bill is introduced by his Congressman for his special relief. His bill happens to be one of the fortunate ones considered. By special act his pension is increased from \$12 to \$24, or even \$30 per month; quite likely it should have been more. But it is an increase anyway, and his remaining days, but few at most, are made happier.

But how about Comrade Jones, who lives in the same town with Comrade Smith? He, too, is blind, helpless, no money, equally dependent and destitute.

His bill is not reached. He must continue to live on \$12 per month or be carried to the county house. The Congressman is told that his case was not reached and he must wait until the next session.

Perhaps before Congress convenes again the old soldier, who, when his country called to him, left his home, his wife, his little ones, his aged mother, gave up pursuits full of promise to defend the flag and preserve the Union, dies.

He will not longer beg the Government to come to his relief, so sorely needed. He came to the relief of his country when the blood of the flower of our young manhood was so badly needed and so fearfully sacrificed, and dies unrewarded.

No; the old comrade's eyes are closed. After life's fitful fever he sleeps well.

He no longer clamors for or needs our aid and relief. A twenty-dollar headstone is generously set at the head of his grave. Possibly a flower is deposited on the little mound.

We close our eyes with satisfaction and boast of the splendid and generous care this great Government gives to its defenders.

Perhaps a century hence a costly monument may supplant the modest marker, a hothouse shelter the grave; but what does this avail the dead hero? A few dollars more each month while he was living would have meant far more than this tardy and unlimited expenditure after the final muster out. [Applause.]

No, Mr. Chairman, what we intend to do for the old soldiers ought to be done NOW.

We should not wait until all, or practically all, have answered the final summons. And they are fast dropping from the ranks, too, my colleagues. The gentleman from Ohio [General SHERWOOD], that valiant old soldier and statesman, told us the other day that 28,000 soldiers died last year; 80 every day; 1 every eighteen minutes. The old veterans will not be with us long.

And so I say that if one comrade is entitled to \$24 or \$30 per month by general or special act, then every other comrade in like circumstance and condition is entitled to \$24 or \$30 per month.

But how can this be done when one man must investigate and prepare the briefs on all of the bills referred to the Invalid Pension Committee? And one man to perform like service for the Pension Committee? It is simply out of the question.

I have no criticisms to make of Mr. Gauss, detailed by the Pension Bureau to examine the bills of the Invalid Pension Committee, or of Mr. Terry of the Pension Committee. In fact, I wonder how they go over the great mass of evidence and prepare as many bills for the committees as they do. I believe they are the hardest-worked Government employees in Washington to-day. At least three additional examiners should be detailed on the Invalid Pension Committee, that not only a few, but every bill, might be investigated and passed upon, to the end that every soldier would be treated exactly alike.

This is one of the conditions, Mr. Chairman, that I believe every Member will agree with me ought to be remedied. Fish should not be made of one and fowl of another.

As a new Member, I do not know how I can satisfactorily square myself with my soldier constituency. I have introduced forty-odd bills for special relief. I can not hope to get one-third of them passed. How about the others? Many will not be acted upon, equally as meritorious as those considered by the committee.

This is injustice to the Congressmen and injustice to the soldier. This, too, in a land where the Goddess of Justice stands blindfolded, that no distinction of the rights of any man, be he rich or be he poor, is supposed to be made. No wonder she stands blinded, for if sight were not obscured, she would weep big tears of shame that justice is so perverted.

The House has passed the widows' pension bill increasing from \$8 per month to \$12 per month the pensions of all widows who married soldiers prior to 1890.

Think of it. Eight dollars per month.



I received a letter yesterday, dated March 13, from a soldier's widow, Julia Dunaway, of Granville, Ohio, inquiring if it were true that Congress had passed a law increasing widows' pensions to \$12 per month.

She says:

I am the mother of ten children. When my husband was living he got a pension of \$100 per month and we got along very well. Now I get only \$8 per month, and it is mighty hard to keep so many. I need all that I can get. Please tell me, is it true about our pensions?

Think of that, Mr. Chairman. A soldier's widow, the mother of ten children, drawing the munificent sum of \$8 per month. This is an outrage. Any woman the mother of ten children whether she is a soldier's widow or not ought to get more than that. [Applause.]

The Senate wisely amended and passed this bill removing the marriage limitations. This is right; this is just. The wife who cares for her soldier husband during his last days, sure to be filled with suffering, nine chances out of ten a helpless invalid requiring untold care and attention, is entitled to a pension.

But the Senate did not go far enough. It makes this pension provision for widows of the wars up to and including the civil war only. Why exempt the Spanish war widows? This bill is now in the hands of a conference committee.

I hope this committee will still further amend the bill to include the widows and minor children of all wars.

I want to vote for this bill with such an amendment.

I want this House to pass the bill so amended. I believe the Senate will concur and I am sure the President will sign it.

I want a roll call had that every Member may go on record, that the friends of the heroes of this nation may be known and properly classified.

This, Mr. Chairman, brings me to a decidedly objectionable practice and rule.

I refer to the rules of the Pension Committee, to whom is referred all bills for special relief except those of the civil war.

This committee refuses to consider a Spanish war bill when the disabilities did not originate while in the service or can not be traced to such service.

This is an arbitrary and an unjust rule.

This rule does not prevail in the Invalid Pension Committee, I am glad to say.

The Pension Committee refuses to consider this class of claims and gives as a reason therefor that not until the act of 1890 were any pensions given to civil war veterans or veterans of other wars for disability without service origin.

This is strange precedent.

If it was right to pension a soldier in 1890 and since that time for disabilities other than of service origin, it was right to give such pensions before 1890.

If it is right to give civil war veterans such pensions, why not be fair to the Spanish war veterans?

I am told it is too soon; that the Spanish war veterans must wait because the veterans of other wars waited.

Because the veterans of wars previous to the Spanish war were not fairly and justly treated is that any reason why the rule should be continued and adhered to? Not in the least.

I ask indulgence for another personal reference to a case in my own district, the Seventeenth Ohio.

I refer to the claim of Herbert O. Kohr, of Uhrichsville, Ohio. He enlisted in Company B, First Battalion of Engineers, United States Army; served three years, reenlisted, and at the end of the second enlistment received an honorable discharge after six years of faithful service to his country. There is not a blot on his record.

Shortly after his discharge, while engaged on a public work at Oldwine, Iowa, a supposed dead dynamite fuse exploded. When his bleeding body was picked up, it was found that he had lost both eyes—not the sight only, but the eye balls were gone—one hand was off, and his face and body otherwise horribly disfigured; a wreck for life.

Before the accident he was a perfect picture of physical manhood. Now he is blind, helpless, penniless. A little lad leads this once stalwart soldier from house to house, from town to town.

He makes a precarious livelihood by selling a book that he has written since that accident. It is entitled "Around the World, or Six Years with Uncle Sam."

Yes; he was six years with Uncle Sam. Must he wait thirty years, if perchance he lives so long, to get a little something for six of the best years of his life?

He was in the battle of Santiago, he was in China during the Boxer uprising, and in the Philippines for many months. He risked his life and health, and for six long years was in arms, the greater portion of this time on the field of battle.

Now he is denied even a pittance from the Government he so faithfully and honestly defended. Why?

Because his disability did not originate in the service.

This is true. But for comparison let me refer to another case.

I know a veteran of another war who was in the service just ninety-one days. He was stricken with paralysis, and is now a Government beneficiary to the extent of \$30 per month.

I am not opposed to pensions of the class to which I have referred. Not by any means. I doubt if any soldier ever got more than he deserved, and but few get as much.

I believe in pensions from the bottom of my heart.

I believe in pensions, first, because those who risked their lives in the defense of their country are entitled, in the days of their adversity, to the care and protection of the country they served so well. It is simple justice, not charity.

Second, because of the billion of dollars, or thereabouts, annually appropriated by the United States no part of it or all the rest of it does the country as much good as the one hundred and fifty millions distributed among the soldiers.

The merchant, the doctor, the editor, the preacher, and even the undertaker gets his share.

But to the claim of my poor blind Spanish war veteran. He is denied. He served six years, but because he happens to be a veteran of this war and not of some other war he must continue to live upon the charity of the public.

Six years ago Hon. John W. Cassingham, who then represented the district I to-day have the honor of representing, introduced a bill for the relief of Herbert O. Kohr. Two years ago my honorable predecessor, Judge M. L. Smyser, introduced a similar bill. The committee refused to consider these bills.

One of the first bills I introduced was for the relief of this poor, helpless, unfortunate man.

The chairman of the Pension Committee, the honorable gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. LOUDENSLAGER], he with the ever-present pink carnation in his coat lapel, fluffy cravat, and provoking twinkle in his eye, blandly but bluntly informed me that he would not permit the committee to recommend or consider this bill while he was chairman of the committee.

I interviewed many members of the Pension Committee. All agreed that this was a most worthy claim, but told me that I must get the consent of the chairman to consider the bill before a stone could be turned.

The poor soldier, who had worked his way to the Capitol, vainly appealed to be allowed to go before the committee, but he with pink complexion and enlarged heart still denied him.

I turned to the President of the United States. The blind soldier stood before the Chief Executive in mute silence. No lengthy appeal was necessary to enlist his sympathy and interest. A few simple words told the story of his life and service. The President realized the justness of the claim. President Roosevelt said Herbert O. Kohr ought to be pensioned, and that he would write the chairman of the Pension Committee and urge as strongly as he knew how a favorable consideration of this bill.

He did, and permit me to read the President's letter:

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
Washington, January 31, 1908.

HON. HENRY C. LOUDENSLAGER,

Chairman Committee on Pensions, House of Representatives.

MY DEAR SIR: The inclosed letter from Congressman ASHBROOK explains itself. I have seen Herbert O. Kohr, the man for whom the pension is asked. He served for six years in the Regular Army, both in the Philippines and in China, with an honorable record. He then went into private life; was engaged in a public work at Oldwine, Iowa, and while engaged in duty a dynamite explosion caused him to lose both eyes, his left arm, and otherwise maimed him, so that he is absolutely helpless for life. He is dependent upon charity. If we had proper laws as to employers' liability, a man thus disfigured by a dynamite explosion would be pensioned for life anyhow. As we have no such proper laws, I earnestly hope that the Pension Committee will grant him a pension. I would do the same for any man who has served well in the Army of the United States and who afterwards while working hard for his living is disabled for life by an accident which, if our laws were proper, would also mean that he was pensioned for life. I very earnestly press his claim.

Sincerely, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT,  
President of the United States.

What has been done or what will be done? It looks like for the present the obdurate chairman would rule, notwithstanding the merits of the claim; notwithstanding President Roosevelt wrote the chairman of the committee, "I earnestly hope that the Pension Committee will grant him a pension."

Herbert O. Kohr is not only honestly entitled to a pension, but every other soldier with like record and unfortunate condition.

Does not the President say:

I would do the same for any man who has served well in the Army of the United States and who afterwards, while working hard for his living, is disabled for life by an accident which, if our laws were proper, would also mean that he was pensioned for life.

The President is right in his advocacy of an employers' liability law, and I hope to be able to vote for this law.

But, Mr. Chairman, such a law passed now or at any other time in the future would bring no relief to the already unfortunate victims of accident and disaster.

Every soldier of all the wars and their widows and dependent children ought to be fairly, justly, and liberally dealt with.

To my notion the greatest curse of Congress is the code of rules, both in the House and in the committees. I recognize the necessity of rules for the transaction of business and the control of all bodies. But rules should not deprive a Member and his constituency of their inherent rights, nor should it serve to defeat the ends of justice. [Applause.]

The veterans of the civil war will soon be gone, the last camp fire will be out. While they are living let this Government provide for them sufficient, at least, that they may be comfortably housed, clothed, and fed.

If to do this it is necessary to cut out the building of a battle ship or two each year, a few public buildings, or even reduce the standing Army, do so. [Applause.]

I voted last Saturday to increase the pay of city carriers of a certain grade from \$1,100 to \$1,200, because I believe many, very many, subordinate salaries are entirely too low, although I felt that the increase more justly belongs to other grades and the faithful rural carriers, who must keep a team and make long hauls over good roads and bad for \$900 per annum; while his big city brother will hereafter get \$1,200 for lighter work and shorter hours.

But why did Congress rush to the relief of these letter carriers and remain indifferent to such meritorious bills as the Sherwood dollar-a-day bill?

Is it because the old soldier is looked upon as having less political influence?

Nearly every Member was in his seat when the amendment to increase the salaries of the city letter carriers was being considered.

When the gentleman from Ohio [General SHERWOOD] ably argued for the passage of his bill three-fourths of the Members were conspicuous by their absence. I admit that seven Republicans were present and heard the old warrior plead for his comrades. [Applause on Democratic side.]

This is a poor way to inspire patriotism. It leads us to inquire, Does it pay to be a hero?

Don't turn these old veterans out to die like a worn-out horse. Give those who, by their sacrifices and bravery, made this nation great, rich, and powerful their just reward.

Should the war clouds ever again threaten us, then will the young men follow the example of their patriotic fathers and forefathers and rally around the flag as of old.

And so, Mr. Chairman, I appeal again that our pension laws and rules of the Pension Committees be so amended that all may secure and receive without further unnecessary delay that which is justly due them.

May the policy of a square deal be practiced as earnestly and as strongly as it is to-day preached. In conclusion I use the words of the President, "I earnestly press their claims." [Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. KEIFER. I yield to the gentleman from Idaho.

Mr. FRENCH. Mr. Chairman, the bill that I have introduced (H. R. 18790) provides for prohibition of immigration to the United States of Japanese and Korean laborers. Before offering any reason for the passage of the bill I desire to outline briefly the salient features of the measure. After that I shall offer a few words showing why the bill should become a law.

In preparing the bill I have followed as closely as practicable the wording of the Chinese-exclusion act and the amendments thereto. I have done this in order, if possible, to use language that has been interpreted by the Department of Commerce and Labor and by our courts. One section of the Chinese-exclusion act, providing for the imprisonment for one year of a Chinaman unlawfully within the United States prior to deporting him, I have omitted, because it was held by the Supreme Court to be unconstitutional. Several sections in the original Chinese-exclusion act have been omitted because the matters which they cover have been dealt with more satisfactorily in later amendments. The main features of the bill are as follows:

First. The prohibition of the immigration of Japanese and Korean laborers into the United States or the insular possessions of the United States, or from the insular possessions to the main land.

Second. The prohibition of any Japanese or Korean laborer returning to the United States who had departed, unless he had a lawful wife, child, or parent in the United States, or property

therein of the value of \$1,000, or debts of like amount due him and pending settlement. These provisions have been so safeguarded as to preclude abuses thereunder.

Third. It is provided that all Japanese and Korean laborers who may be entitled to remain in the United States at the time of passage of the act shall, within six months thereafter, obtain certificates of residence. This is the same provision that was required of Chinese laborers, and is plainly necessary in order that the spirit of the act may not be avoided.

Fourth. Provision is made in the bill for access to our country of Japanese and Korean merchants, professional men, students, and travelers, besides diplomatic representatives.

It will appear then that the object of the measure is to exclude from our country the great body of Japanese and Korean laborers to whom our doors are open so far as laws are concerned and to place these laborers and their families in the same class as the Chinese laborers. The purpose of the bill is to prevent a large oriental population coming to our shores and becoming a part of the population of the United States, and while the bill does not seek to limit the immigration of Japanese and Koreans absolutely, it does seek to limit the immigration of practically the entire number who are coming to our shores at the present time.

Nations are organized and perpetuated for the benefit of the people who make up the nation, and as people individually have problems to solve that have to do with their course of life, so nations have problems to solve which bear upon their perpetual well-being, and we must proudly assume that our nation's life is perpetual. Many acts of a nation are merely transitory and have but a passing effect upon the current events and development of the nation; other policies of the nation go to the very basic principles upon which the nation rests.

A tariff law operates indifferently and may be repealed or continued with slight effect upon the ultimate character of the nation; a financial policy may be changed by each succeeding administration; great Government improvements have to do with the facility with which business is handled, but not one of these questions strikes vitally at the highest good of any country. The question involved with respect to the immigration of people to our shores has to do with the character of our population, of our institutions, of our religious, ethical, social, and political life. Our country is going through a great formative period, and it is the duty of our nation to have a guard for not only our commercial and industrial well-being, but our people as well. More important than the construction of railways, the building of cities, or the reclamation of arid lands is the safeguarding of our population, and in safeguarding our population one of the primal things to which our minds must be directed is the blood that flows in our people's veins. Peoples of different color and widely separated racial tendencies do not live side by side under the same flag in peace and harmony.

It matters not the relative development of the races; it matters not that they are equal in all that makes for highest manhood and for purest womanhood; it matters only that their social characteristics are separated by a chasm so deep that it can not be bridged at the marriage altar, and their folklore stories mingled by a common fireside. Such is the chasm that separates the American people to-day from the people of the Orient. It is upon this ground that I believe they should be excluded from our shores in such a manner as will prevent any considerable number from ever claiming this their home. This can be done, I believe, by the exclusion of the laboring classes of the oriental countries. On the other hand, realizing the vigor, attainments, and traditions of these ancient people, realizing that they have broken the spell that has bound them as recluse nations during the centuries gone by, we may well afford to admit their scholars that we may learn from them, their students that they may learn from us, their merchants, if this can be done without abuse, that we may buy from them the product of their genius, and through whom we may in turn exploit the fruits of our own industrial thrift.

The relations between the United States and the nations of the Orient should be such that the utmost good will may prevail. We should ask nothing from them that we would not as cheerfully concede. As the years go by we will become more and more interdependent. Notwithstanding this, our growth should be side by side and not by mingling the population of America on the continent of Asia and the population of Asia upon the continent of America. It may be laid down as a cardinal principle that the greatest internal peace belongs to that nation whose people are homogeneous, while, on the other hand, distrust, unrest, and internal strife are the undoubted portion of the nation whose people do not blend.



Prior to the discovery of gold in California, following a policy of exclusiveness centuries old, the people of China, Japan, and Korea had hardly set foot upon our shores. Within four years after 1849 10,000 Chinese alone had landed in the United States, and by 1882, when the first definite act was passed restricting the immigration of Chinese laborers into our country, more than 100,000 Chinese and Japanese had found their way hither. At that time Congress listened to the voice of the West, and an act was passed suspending the immigration of Chinese laborers into the United States. We have followed the policy of excluding Chinese laborers ever since.

Notwithstanding the vigilance that we have exercised, and in view of liberal immigration laws as relate to Japan and Korea, there are to-day something like 300,000 people from China, Japan, and Korea in our midst, and if ready immigration were possible this number would multiply itself many times within the next few years. The tendency of the last quarter of a century warrants me in making this assertion. Going back no further than 1893 and following the immigration of Japanese into our country up to the present, the figures from the report of the Commissioner of Immigration of the United States are very striking:

*Japanese immigrants.*

1893	1,380
1894	1,931
1895	1,150
1896	1,110
1897	1,526
1898	2,230
1899	2,844
1900	12,635
1901	5,269
1902	14,270
1903	19,968
1904	14,264
1905	10,331
1906	13,835
1907	30,226

The most casual examination of these figures warrants the belief that the tendency is firmly established, and I believe that only by legislation on our part can further immigration be withstood. Remarkable as are the figures bearing upon the immigration of Japanese to our country, I do not think that they represent the true increase. Thousands of Japanese have doubtless come to our country of whose entrance no record has been made. They have come from Canada and Mexico. It has been estimated that the number of Japanese who have entered in this manner for many years equals the number who were admitted through the custom-house. Upon this question the Commissioner-General of Immigration of the United States says in his report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1907:

Japanese laborers in large numbers are, and have been for months, flocking to both Canada and Mexico. That in the vast majority of cases their intention (usually formed, it is believed, before embarking for the voyage over) is to enter the United States the Bureau is convinced. In other words, these laborers merely use foreign contiguous territory as a place of temporary sojourn while perfecting plans for proceeding to points in this country. Reports received from immigration officials located in Canada and along the Mexican border show beyond question that such is the case.

I find also in the report that Inspector Braun made to the Immigration Department under date of February 12, 1907, this remarkable statement in confirmation of the remarks which I have just made:

I have stated before that to secure reliable data as to the number of immigrants coming into Mexico is very difficult, if it be not an impossibility, but I have been assured that during the last year and a half 8,000 Japanese and 5,000 Chinese have entered the Mexican Republic. To-day, however, there are not 2,000 Japanese and not 15,000 Chinese in all Mexico, although, according to a conservative estimate, more than 45,000 Chinese have come to Mexico, and few ever return from there. The Mexican-Chinese-Japanese transportation companies—steamers from all the Mexican ports—have not taken them home to the Orient. Where are the Japanese and Chinese that have come to Mexico and did not remain in that Republic? The almost irresistible conclusion is they found their way to the United States.

I believe that if a census could be taken to-day of the Japanese within our country the number would equal something like 175,000 people. The tendency among the Koreans is just the same. They have not come to our country in such large numbers as have the Japanese, but I believe a very conservative estimate would place their number at 15,000, and that most of these were admitted since the census of 1900.

The relative proportion of this oriental population when compared with the population of our own country is comparatively small, yet, in spite of this, resentment is felt toward them very generally by the sections of our country that have any considerable number of Asiatic people. This resentment is deep rooted and is not the passing sentiment of a restless day. The immigrants from Japan and from Korea, as well as most of the Chinese who came to our country prior to the passage of the Chinese-exclusion law, look upon our country as a place which will furnish men with immediate work at good wages, and

probably with some remote or uncertain idea of making this their home. The immigrant from the Orient has lived in a country where he has received something like 10 or 15 cents per day for his labor. He is willing to work in the United States, and he is willing to accept for his labor the minimum wages paid to a white laborer, and even less. Certain handicaps that exist compel him to do this. He does not know our language; he is not as skillful at first as our own laborers. He is not supplied with a large amount of money and is compelled to earn the means for his subsistence.

The result is apparent. He establishes a scale of wages that he can with difficulty raise after he does know our language and after he has become proficient. He establishes a scale of wages far lower than the wages paid to white laborers for doing the same work. The Japanese and Korean Exclusion League, from estimates based upon the wages received by thousands of laborers in the city of San Francisco, does not hesitate to say that the wages which the Japanese receive are from 40 to 50 per cent lower than the wages received by white laborers doing the same character of work.

This is not the only way the presence of the oriental laborer is detrimental to the interest of the white workman. For years the American laborer has struggled for a shorter labor day. He has desired more time away from daily routine for himself or for his family. He has so far succeeded that the eight-hour day is becoming more and more universally recognized. From statistics prepared by the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League, covering thousands of Japanese workmen, it is shown that the Japanese laborer works from ten to fourteen hours per day, where the white laborer works about nine hours. No one can successfully maintain that such competition as this does not tend to lower the conditions of the white laborer.

The white laborer is not accustomed to living as the coolie laborer of the Orient lives. He demands better food and better homes. A single room will furnish all there is of home for six or eight or ten Japanese, Chinese, or Korean laborers, and this same squalid quarters would not be considered as worthy by the most modest American workman. Living in such quarters, working longer hours for lower wages, the coolie laborer is a menace to the great body of American workmen and a great menace to the best interest of our entire people.

It has been urged that the coolie laborer does the work that the American laborer will not do. Yet such is not the case. The bright Japanese has entered the lists against workmen in almost every line of labor. There are tailors and there are printers; there are engineers and machinists. There are miners, clerks, shoemakers, barbers, jewelers, office boys, hotel and restaurant keepers, photographers, section hands, carpenters, painters, bricklayers, paperhangers, plasterers, gardeners and farmers, and scores and scores of other workmen who are Japanese, and they are in our own country and competing with our own labor.

It is no wonder, then, that the American laborer, no matter whether he is skilled or unskilled, looks upon the tremendous immigration from the Orient as constituting a grave danger to American ideals and American opportunities, not only for the present but for all time. If a halt is not called, what will be the condition within a few years of every trade throughout the West? What will be the condition of the laboring man, whether skilled or unskilled? If the workmen of the Orient are entering these various lines of work to-day, surely they will enter, by another short decade, the lists as competitors with our own workmen in tenfold degree.

I fully realize that what I have said will be met with counter argument by many people in our country, and especially throughout the East. There are those who urge most vigorously that any restriction is wrong. They urge that we should encourage the immigration of Japanese. They believe that we need the labor of these people. The latter part of January of this year a splendid body of representative men—the National Board of Trade—convened in our nation's capital. That body of able men adopted on January 22 a resolution upon this question, which I desire to call to your attention:

*Resolved*, That the National Board of Trade is strongly opposed to any and all legislation intended to discriminate against Japan or her citizens; but, on the contrary, it is believed that every effort should be made to cultivate and promote the most intimate commercial relations between the two countries, and that all privileges now enjoyed by the most favored nations should continue to be extended to the Japanese.

This resolution would not have been adopted had the spirit of the resolution not been approved by a considerable number of business interests or of citizens of our country. The men who approved it, I fully believe, have looked upon but one side of the question. They have seen great opportunities for the unfolding of our industries. They have seen demand for labor. They have seen the need of men for railroad, mine, and factory.

But in their enthusiasm they have not seen the impoverished condition that inevitably would be brought to American labor within the quarter of a century already begun if their resolution were to be given life during the next twenty-five years. They have not seen that a race of people would be placed side by side with our own people, which would arouse enmity and passion and bring about internal strife and perhaps open war because of their unwelcome presence. They have seen quick action and immediate results; but they have not seen the suffering that they would entail upon two races contending each for higher social and political advantages as the years roll on into the countless decades of our glorious Republic.

The condition of a few to whom wealth has been granted bears little relation to the welfare of any nation. Our nation can not be higher than the general condition of the masses of our people. If the masses of our people are prosperous, our country is prosperous. If they are not prosperous, if they are not content, then in that degree does our Government fall short of the great responsibility that the people have reposed in our political institutions.

The time to solve this question is now; not next year, nor two years from to-day, but now. Every day that passes without action being taken the problem becomes more difficult. Every day will witness greater opposition to this legislation upon the part of interests that will be affected. Steamship companies will oppose this legislation with each succeeding day, because they will desire the traffic in the bringing of oriental people to our shores. Every year that passes without this legislation will make it increasingly more difficult to maintain cordial relations with our neighbors across the sea.

Every year that passes will bring additionally embarrassing political questions to the States which have oriental voters. It is not to be supposed that these voters could get the point of view that the American would have. It is not to be supposed that they would fail to use their ballot to produce practical results for themselves. Every year that passes will bring increased difficulties because of the public school situation. Every year will heighten the difference between the oriental laborer and the white laborer, and the white laborer can not be blamed for standing for the welfare of his own fireside. Last of all, every year that goes by without positive legislation looking to the checking of oriental immigration means the introduction into our midst of a people of a strange blood who throughout the centuries to come will retain their individuality and serve as the slumbering embers that will in the sometime burst into flames of international wars involving our own country and the nations of the Orient.

We may talk of friendly understanding and the willingness of the oriental nations to prevent the immigration of their people to our shores. I respect the sincerity of those who urge this course, but I have no confidence in the merits of such a policy. We can not leave this question to Japan and to Korea any more than thirty years ago we could have left the question of Chinese immigration to the Chinese Government. The present ministry may favor the policy, the succeeding one may oppose it, or if it favors it, the ministry may not prove itself efficient. During the last few days the people of Japan, by their votes, have asked for a new ministry. Who can tell the policy of the political leaders who will now assume control? Aye, if they have declared their policy, who can tell how faithfully that policy will be executed or what will be the policy in ten years from now?

Within the last two years the people of the West have been restless on this question. This restlessness has not been confined to the people of the United States; it has extended to Canada. Since Congress has been assembled the dispatches in our papers have told of this unrest from day to day. The very day the resolution was passed in our capital city by the National Board of Trade, favoring the immigration of Japanese, a representative of the parliament of British Columbia is reported as having declared that the Japanese of Vancouver were thoroughly armed, and that if steps were not taken to disarm them the citizens would arm themselves. This is but a straw, but it indicates the direction of the wind. Within the last two years the American people have witnessed a struggle that has gone on in San Francisco between the citizens and school authorities, on the one side, and the Japanese, on the other, over the question as to whether or not the Japanese should attend the public schools side by side in the same rooms, in the same classes, with our own boys and girls.

Within the year we have heard forecasts of war between our country and the Empire of Japan. Within the year we have seen 10,000 laborers in Vancouver, in British Columbia, descend upon the Japanese and Chinese quarters of that city, break in the doors and windows of fifty houses, and injure some of those

who would defend. Within the year we have seen repeated instances of lesser violence, and local officers, for the maintenance of the peace, have been called upon more than once to protect our own people or the ones whose presence they resent.

These things are probably not great within themselves, but I speak of them for what they signify. The time has come when the Chinese or Japanese on the Pacific coast is not pointed out as the curious representative of an unknown race—a mere object of interest. That time has long passed by. The time has come when his presence excites resentment. The hand of the brown man is raised against the hand of the white. He lowers wages. He lowers the standard of living. In times of prosperity he awakens angry passions. In times of depression he arouses riots. Law-abiding for the most part, he has no love for any country but his own. He does not harmonize with our institutions. His blood could not be assimilated with our own because of race prejudice, nor would it be desirable were assimilation possible.

Why, then, should we give ear to any voice that pleads for the admission of these people to our shores? To admit them is to sow the seeds of violence and bloodshed for years to come. It may not be in our day, but it will be some time. Now, while it is within our power, we should work out a course that will mean peace for the present day and peace for the future years. Now, while this voice is heard asking leniency in our laws; now, while commercialism is asking for oriental labor; now, I say, is the time for our country to arouse herself from all lethargy and to say to all the world that for the advantage of a day we shall not bring a curse upon our land; we shall not sell our birthright for a mess of pottage. Our country has no spirit of hostility against Korea, China, or Japan. Our country has only highest hopes for those old peoples. We are proud of their intellect; we admire their love of native land; we glory in the success that the last century has brought to them. We deny them nothing that we are not willing that they should deny us. We wish them untold blessings through future years; but we want their unfolding to be on their own land. Loyal to American institutions, loyal to American labor, loyal to American blood, our country should sound a warning to the American people, to the Chinese and Japanese alike, that, however close our commercial relations may be, each race should leave the other free, under the guidance of almighty God, to work out its own great destiny.

I append herewith a copy of my bill, which is as follows:

A bill (H. R. 18790) prohibiting the immigration of Japanese and Korean laborers to the United States.

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That from and after the passage of this act the coming of Japanese and Korean laborers to the United States be, and the same is hereby, prohibited; and it shall not be lawful for any Japanese or Korean laborer to come from any foreign port or place to any State or Territory or insular possession of the United States nor from any insular possession to the mainland of the United States.

SEC. 2. That the master of any vessel who shall knowingly bring within the United States or from any insular possession to the mainland of the United States on such vessel and land, or attempt to land, or permit to be landed any Japanese or Korean laborer from any foreign port or place shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$500 for each and every such Japanese or Korean laborer so brought, and may also be imprisoned for a term not exceeding one year.

SEC. 3. That the two foregoing sections shall not apply to Japanese and Korean laborers who were in the United States on the passage of this act who shall produce to such master before going on board such vessel, and shall produce to the collector of the port in the United States at which such vessel shall arrive, the evidence hereinafter in this act required of his being one of the laborers in this section mentioned; nor shall the two foregoing sections apply to the case of any master whose vessel, being bound to a port not within the United States, shall come within the jurisdiction of the United States by reason of being in distress or in stress of weather, or touching at any port of the United States on its voyage to any foreign port or place; *Provided*, That all Japanese or Korean laborers brought on such vessel shall not be permitted to land except in case of absolute necessity, and must depart with the vessel on leaving port.

SEC. 4. That from and after the passage of this act no Japanese or Korean laborer in the United States shall be permitted, after having left, to return thereto, except under the conditions herewith enumerated:

No Japanese or Korean laborer within the purview of this section shall be permitted to return to the United States unless he has a lawful wife, child, or parent in the United States, or property therein of the value of \$1,000, or debts of like amount due him and pending settlement.

The marriage to such wife must have taken place at least a year prior to the application of the laborer for a permit to return to the United States and must have been followed by the continuous cohabitation of the parties as man and wife.

If the right to return be claimed on the ground of property or of debts, it must appear that the property is bona fide and not colorably acquired for the purpose of evading this act, or that the debts are unascertained and unsettled and not promissory notes or other similar acknowledgments of ascertained liability.

A Japanese or Korean person claiming the right to be permitted to leave the United States and return thereto on any of the grounds stated in this section shall apply to the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean inspector in charge of the district from which he wishes to depart at least a month prior to the time of his departure, and shall make on oath before the said inspector a full statement descriptive of his family, or property, or debts, as the case may be, and shall furnish to said



Inspector such proofs of the facts entitling him to return as shall be required by the rules and regulations prescribed from time to time by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, and for any false swearing in relation thereto he shall incur the penalties of perjury.

He shall also permit the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean inspector in charge to take a full description of his person, which description the collector shall retain and mark with a number.

And if the said inspector, after hearing the proofs and investigating all the circumstances of the case, shall decide to issue a certificate of return, he shall, at such time and place as he may designate, sign and give to the person applying a certificate containing the number of the description last aforesaid, which shall be the sole evidence given to such person of his right to return.

If this last-named certificate be transferred, it shall become void, and the person to whom it was given shall forfeit his right to return to the United States.

The right to return under the said certificate shall be limited to one year; but it may be extended for an additional period, not to exceed a year, in cases where, by reason of sickness or other cause of disability beyond his control, the holder thereof shall be rendered unable sooner to return, which facts shall be fully reported to and investigated by the consular representative of the United States at the port or place from which such laborer departs for the United States, and certified by such representative of the United States to the satisfaction of the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean inspector in charge at the port where such Japanese or Korean person shall seek to land in the United States, such certificate to be delivered by said representative to the master of the vessel on which he departs for the United States.

And no Japanese or Korean laborer shall be permitted to reenter the United States without producing to the proper officer in charge at the port of such entry the return certificate herein required. A Japanese or Korean laborer possessing a certificate under this section shall be admitted to the United States only at the port from which he departed therefrom, and no Japanese or Korean person, except Japanese or Korean diplomatic or consular officers, and their attendants, shall be permitted to enter the United States except at the ports of San Francisco, Portland (Oreg.), Boston, New York, New Orleans, Port Townsend, or such other ports as may be designated by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

Sec. 5. That the Secretary of Commerce and Labor shall be, and he hereby is, authorized and empowered to prescribe the form and substance of certificates to be issued to Japanese or Korean laborers under and in pursuance of the provisions of this act, and prescribe the form of the record of such certificate and of the proceedings for issuing the same, and he may require the deposit, as a part of such record, of the photograph of the party to whom any such certificate shall be issued.

Any person who shall knowingly and falsely alter or substitute any name for the name written in any certificate herein required, or forge such certificate, or knowingly utter any forged or fraudulent certificate, or falsely personate any person named in any such certificate, and any person other than the one to whom a certificate was issued who shall falsely present any such certificate, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in a sum not exceeding \$1,000 and imprisoned in a penitentiary for a term of not more than five years.

Sec. 6. That in order to secure the faithful execution of the provisions of this act every Japanese or Korean person, other than a laborer, who may be entitled to come within the United States, and who shall be about to come to the United States, shall obtain the permission of and be identified as so entitled by the Japanese or Korean Government, or of such other foreign government of which at the time such Japanese or Korean person shall be a subject, in each case to be evidenced by a certificate issued by such government, which certificate shall be in the English language, and shall show such permission, with the name of the permitted person in his or her proper signature, and which certificate shall state the individual, family, and tribal name in full, title, or official rank, if any, the age, height, and all physical peculiarities, former and present occupation or profession, when and where and how long pursued, and place of residence of the person to whom the certificate is issued, and that such person is entitled by this act to come within the United States.

If the person so applying for a certificate shall be a merchant, said certificate shall, in addition to above requirements, state the nature, character, and estimated value of the business carried on by him prior to and at the time of his application as aforesaid: *Provided*, That nothing in this act shall be construed as embracing within the meaning of the word "merchant" hucksters, peddlers, or those engaged in taking, drying, or otherwise preserving shell or other fish for home consumption or exportation.

If the certificate be sought for the purpose of travel for curiosity, it shall also state whether the applicant intends to pass through or travel within the United States, together with his financial standing in the country from which such certificate is desired.

The certificate provided for in this act and the identity of the person named therein shall, before such person goes on board any vessel to proceed to the United States, be viséed by the indorsement of the diplomatic representatives of the United States in the foreign country from which such certificate issues or of the consular representative of the United States at the port or place from which the person named in the certificate is about to depart; and such diplomatic representative or consular representative whose indorsement is so required is hereby empowered, and it shall be his duty, before indorsing such certificate as aforesaid, to examine into the truth of the statements set forth in said certificate, and if he shall find upon examination that said or any of the statements therein contained are untrue it shall be his duty to refuse to indorse the same.

Such certificate viséed as aforesaid shall be prima facie evidence of the facts set forth therein, and shall be produced to the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean inspector in charge of the port in the district in the United States at which the person named therein shall arrive, and afterwards produced to the proper authorities of the United States whenever lawfully demanded, and shall be the sole evidence permissible on the part of the person so producing the same to establish a right of entry into the United States; but said certificate may be controverted and the facts therein stated disproved by the United States authorities.

Sec. 7. That the master of any vessel arriving in the United States from any foreign port or place shall, at the same time he delivers a manifest of the cargo, and if there be no cargo, then at the time of making a report of the entry of the vessel pursuant to law, in addition to the other matter required to be reported, and before landing, or permitting to land, any Japanese or Korean passengers, deliver and report to the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean inspector in charge of the district in which such vessel shall have arrived a separate list of all Japanese or Korean passengers taken on board of his vessel at any foreign port or place, and all such passengers on board the vessel at

that time. Such list shall show the names of such passengers (and if accredited officers of the Japanese or Korean or of any other foreign government traveling on the business of that government, or their servants, with a note of such facts), and the names and other particulars as shown by their respective certificates; and such list shall be sworn to by the master in the manner required by law in relation to the manifest of the cargo.

Any refusal or willful neglect of any such master to comply with the provisions of this section shall incur the same penalties and forfeiture as are provided for a refusal or neglect to report and deliver a manifest of the cargo.

Sec. 8. That before any Japanese or Korean passengers are landed from any such vessel the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean inspector in charge, or his deputy, shall proceed to examine such passengers, comparing the certificates with the list and with the passengers, and no passenger shall be allowed to land in the United States from such vessel in violation of law.

Sec. 9. That every vessel whose master shall knowingly violate any of the provisions of this act shall be deemed forfeited to the United States, and shall be liable to seizure and condemnation in any district of the United States into which such vessel may enter or in which she may be found.

Sec. 10. That any person who shall knowingly bring into or cause to be brought into the United States by land, or who shall aid or abet the same, or aid or abet the landing in the United States from any vessel, of any Japanese or Korean person not lawfully entitled to enter the United States, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, on conviction thereof, be fined in a sum not exceeding \$1,000 and imprisoned for a term not exceeding one year.

Sec. 11. That any Japanese or Korean person or person of Japanese or Korean descent, when convicted and adjudged under any of said laws to be not lawfully entitled to be or remain in the United States, shall be removed from the United States to Japan in the case of a Japanese, and to Korea in the case of a Korean, unless he or they shall make it appear to the justice, judge, or commissioner before whom he or they are tried that he or they are subjects or citizens of some other country, in which case he or they shall be removed from the United States to such country: *Provided*, That in any case where such other country of which such person shall claim to be a citizen or subject shall demand any tax as a condition of the removal of such person to that country, he or she shall be removed to Japan or Korea as specified heretofore in this paragraph.

Any Japanese or Korean person or person of Japanese or Korean descent arrested under the provisions of this act shall be adjudged to be unlawfully within the United States unless such person shall establish, by affirmative proof, to the satisfaction of such justice, judge, or commissioner his lawful right to remain in the United States.

But any such Japanese or Korean person convicted before a commissioner of a United States court may, within ten days from such conviction, appeal to the judge of the district court for the district.

A certified copy of the judgment shall be the process upon which said removal shall be made, and it may be executed by the marshal of the district or any officer having authority of a marshal under the provisions of this section.

And in all such cases the person who brought or aided in bringing such person into the United States shall be liable to the Government of the United States for all necessary expenses incurred in such investigation and removal; and all peace officers of the several States and Territories of the United States are hereby invested with the same authority in reference to carrying out the provisions of this act as a marshal or deputy marshal of the United States, and shall be entitled to like compensation, to be audited and paid by the same officers.

After the passage of this act, on an application to any judge or court of the United States in the first instance for a writ of habeas corpus by a Japanese or Korean person seeking to land in the United States to whom that privilege has been denied, no bail shall be allowed, and such application shall be heard and determined promptly without unnecessary delay.

Sec. 12. That it shall be the duty of all Japanese or Korean laborers within the limits of the United States who were entitled to remain in the United States before the passage of this act to apply to the collector of internal revenue of their respective districts within six months after the passage of this act for a certificate of residence; and any Japanese or Korean laborer within the limits of the United States who shall neglect, fail, or refuse to comply with the provisions of this act, or who, after the expiration of said six months, shall be found within the jurisdiction of the United States without such certificate of residence, shall be deemed and adjudged to be unlawfully within the United States and may be arrested by any United States customs official, collector of internal revenue or his deputies, United States marshal or his deputies, and taken before a United States judge, whose duty it shall be to order that he be deported from the United States, as provided in this act, unless he shall establish clearly to the satisfaction of said judge that by reason of accident, sickness, or other unavoidable cause he has been unable to procure his certificate, and to the satisfaction of said United States judge, and by at least one credible witness other than Japanese or Korean, that he was a resident of the United States on the date of the passage of this act, and if, upon the hearing it shall appear that he is so entitled to a certificate, it shall be granted upon his paying the cost.

Should it appear that said Japanese or Korean had procured a certificate which has been lost or destroyed, he shall be detained and judgment suspended a reasonable time to enable him to procure a duplicate from the officer granting it, and in such cases the cost of said arrest and trial shall be in the discretion of the court; and any Japanese or Korean person, other than a Japanese or Korean laborer, having a right to be and remain in the United States, desiring such certificate as evidence of such right, may apply for and receive the same without charge. No person heretofore convicted in any court of the States or Territories or of the United States of a felony shall be permitted to register under the provisions of this act.

Sec. 13. That immediately after the passage of this act the Secretary of Commerce and Labor shall make such rules and regulations as may be necessary for the efficient execution of this act, and shall prescribe the necessary forms and furnish the necessary blanks to enable collectors of internal revenue to issue the certificates required hereby, and make such provisions that certificates may be procured in localities convenient to the applicants.

Such certificates shall be issued without charge to the applicant, and shall contain the name, age, local residence, and occupation of the applicant, and such other description of the applicant as shall be prescribed by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, and a duplicate thereof shall be filed in the office of the collector of internal revenue for the district within which such Japanese or Korean makes application.

SEC. 14. That any person who shall knowingly and falsely alter or substitute any name for the name written in such certificate, or forge such certificate, or knowingly utter any forged or fraudulent certificate, or falsely personate any person named in such certificate, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in a sum not exceeding \$1,000 or imprisoned in the penitentiary for a term of not more than five years.

SEC. 15. That the provisions of this act shall apply to all subjects of Japan and Korea and Japanese and Koreans, whether subjects of Japan or Korea or any other foreign power.

The words "laborer" or "laborers" wherever used in this act shall be construed to mean both skilled and unskilled manual laborers, including Japanese or Koreans employed in mining, fishing, huckstering, peddling, laundrymen, or those engaged in taking, drying, or otherwise preserving shell or other fish for home consumption or exportation.

The term "merchant" as employed herein and in the acts of which this is amendatory shall have the following meaning and none other: A merchant is a person engaged in buying and selling merchandise at a fixed place of business, which business is conducted in his name, and who, during the time he claims to be engaged as a merchant, does not engage in the performance of any manual labor except such as is necessary in the conduct of his business as such merchant.

Where an application is made by a Japanese or Korean for entrance into the United States on the ground that he was formerly engaged in this country as a merchant, he shall establish by the testimony of two credible witnesses other than Japanese or Korean the fact that he conducted such business as hereinbefore defined for at least one year before his departure from the United States, and that during such year he was not engaged in the performance of any manual labor, except such as was necessary in the conduct of his business as such merchant, and in default of such proofs shall be refused landing.

Such order of deportation shall be executed by the United States marshal of the district within which such order is made, and he shall execute the same with all convenient dispatch; and pending the execution of such order such Japanese or Korean person shall remain in the custody of the United States marshal and shall not be admitted to bail.

The certificate herein provided for shall contain the photograph of the applicant, together with his name, local residence, and occupation, and a copy of such certificate, with a duplicate of such photograph attached, shall be filed in the office of the United States collector of internal revenue of the district in which such Japanese or Korean makes application.

Such photographs in duplicate shall be furnished by each applicant in such form as may be prescribed by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

SEC. 16. That any violation of any of the provisions of this act, the punishment of which is not otherwise herein provided for, shall be deemed a misdemeanor, and shall be punishable by fine not exceeding \$1,000, or by imprisonment for not more than one year, or both such fine and imprisonment.

Mr. KEIFFER. I now yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. LANING. Mr. Chairman, I was not a soldier of the civil war, but that was no fault of mine. If I had been born a few years sooner I probably would have been one. Ordinarily the presumption of my knowing anything about the war would be against me, for I was a mere boy then. But I was old enough to remember its scenes and incidents with the vividness of a boy's recollection, and I fully realize the force of that terse and memorable saying of that old hero, "Uncle Billy Sherman," as he was familiarly called, that "War is hell." I as a boy saw the soldiers go out and return, and I saw the home life of the soldier's family, often fuller of sadness and hardship than his lot at the front, little dreaming that the time would come when I as a man might take part in the deliberations of the National Congress upon appropriations for pensions and other legislation for the relief of the suffering and wants of those who took part in that terrible conflict. But I am glad to have the opportunity at this time of expressing my sentiments as to shortcomings that to my mind appear in the methods of executing the pension laws and the wrongs that are seemingly being practiced upon those who, as they went out to defend the Stars and Stripes, had my interest and my sympathy.

The Government called into the Army and Navy millions of men to encounter the dangers of battle, the diseases of camp, and the hardships of military service, and it assumed the responsibility, and impliedly, if not directly, pledged itself to provide an adequate pension system that those who received disabilities and their widows and orphans might be properly cared for. The manner in which this responsibility has been met and the extent to which the obligation has been redeemed need no apology.

I hope I may not be considered out of place for speaking about the administration of the pension laws because of my brief service in this body and my slight opportunity for contact with the problem. But in my short career here I have observed what seem to me as grievous faults in the distribution of pensions, and the peculiar part that Congressmen are taking, in the procedure, which I offer to this House for its consideration.

This Government is now paying out annually for pensions about \$140,000,000, distributing it to about 960,000 persons. About 900,000 of these cases arise out of the civil war. The beneficiaries each get, on the average, about \$12 per month, and it is undoubtedly true that many of them are obliged to take less than in justice belongs to them. There must be, judging from my own correspondence, a great many old soldiers of the civil war who feel aggrieved at the exactions of the Government examiners who pass upon evidence filed in the

Pension Bureau, shown by the frequency and extent to which more proof is called for to support claims; and it is not a great wonder to one who watches and becomes familiar with the process that many anxious but well-meaning applicants become discouraged over their experience in getting a pension in the regular way and besiege their Congressman for the help and advice he can give in surmounting the difficulties. And, considered from this view point, neither is it strange that already there have been introduced into this House at this session more than 12,000 bills for special pensions and at least 4,000 more in the Senate. This appeal to the Congress of the United States, that it give relief from the disparity that is practiced in passing out the pension money we appropriate, is a token of dissatisfaction that speaks in no uncertain or complimentary way.

In the Pension Bureau no applicant is supposed to be given the benefit of any doubt, but, on the contrary, all close questions are resolved against him. In that tribunal there is no presumption in his favor, but he must prove that he is entitled to the pittance he sues for by the clearest evidence and beyond a reasonable doubt. All the technicalities are seemingly invoked against the granting of pensions. All sympathy is barred, and even in the face of favorable reports from the Government boards of surgeons, who give personal examinations and rate the cases, applicants are turned down and increases denied with apparent heartlessness or cold-bloodedness. It is so easy to say that the disease or injury was not of "service origin," or that the disability has not "ratably increased from the pensioned causes," that such phrases have become stereotyped and are parts of form letters sent out to notify applicants of the rejection of their cases.

Slowness of closing up cases in the Pension Bureau is another cause of much complaint. An old soldier gets nervous when he has heard nothing about the progress of his case for several months, and when his claim has been allowed and he does not get his voucher for several months he becomes suspicious and alarmed.

Our daily mail brings us the evidence of this discontent in inquiries and complaints, and this not only swells our correspondence, but it entails upon us much work and loss of time in investigating the causes, remedying the faults, and reporting the results to the inquirers.

With every inquiry we make of the Bureau they are cautious enough to make us certify that it is not made at the request of a pension attorney or claim agent; but still an army of stenographers work at the job in our offices, and another of clerks and their helpers is kept busy in the Bureau of Pensions, looking up cases, searching the evidence, and defining their status. Greater expedition would, if it could be had, make the services of much of this extra force unnecessary, and the work of many of these Government employees could be turned into the direct channels of pension allowance.

But I have no fault to find with this Bureau, or complaint to make as to its efficiency. It is a mammoth institution, employing many people, most of whom have abilities ripened by long experience in the work. At its head is a patriotic gentleman, a former esteemed member of this body, having a high order of talent for the duties intrusted to him in this Department, and a warm friend of the old soldier. His administration of the office has been an acknowledged success. No one could have done better. With the handicaps that have arisen we may well say that it is a wonder that it has been so extremely and uniformly good. It is impossible to eradicate all friction and causes of complaint, and technical rules are necessary to stay the ravages that otherwise might be made on Uncle Sam's pocketbook.

And notwithstanding all the care and consideration that may be exercised and the equity that may be sought in distributing the pension fund, there have been many inequalities committed and much injustice unwittingly practiced in the pensions granted as well as those not granted.

All men do not look upon pension ratings from the same point of view, and when one of the soldier boys easily gets a pension of twenty-four dollars per month and his comrade can get but eight dollars, and that with difficulty, it excites suspicion and creates dissatisfaction. But thanks to the "age law," much of this grievance has disappeared. As a consequence, however, of the remaining disparity, complaints reach us, and we are asked to introduce special bills, to raise up the low spots, and thus restore equality in the distribution of this great national bounty.

And what Congress here does in this line invites to its Members still greater services of the same kind to perform. Our own action is like the appetite that grows by what it feeds upon. Each special bill we get, instead of allaying the demand,



brings us a call for a much greater proportion of new ones. The impossibility of reaching every bill in the committee puts a restraint upon the number we can secure, and often is liable to be misconstrued and to bring us unjust criticism and to detract from the credit due to what we do achieve in this line.

We all like to do what we can for our old soldier constituents and get for them a high-rated special bill. But such bills, though a labor of love, may be and are apt to be trouble breeders for us, because the House committee can not give us the opportunity of getting a hearing upon all of the bills we present, and we can not, with no fault of ours, serve equally all our needy soldier constituents.

And is there no remedy for the troublesome condition with which we are here confronted?

In the first place, there is no sense in compelling the old soldier to come to Congress for a special pension, for there ought to be a way to give him relief easier and better without it. I like the work I do for him and he is welcome to my services, to the best of my abilities. It comports with my sympathetic nature and it is with pleasure that I respond to his distress call. I have no aversion in the performance of this work for him. It is no task to me; but it appears to my mind that it could be better done, and more to the satisfaction of the beneficiaries, if a more constant, systematic, and businesslike method of disposing of special cases could supersede the present unfair, unfruitful, and troublesome one.

Some time ago I introduced a general bill to pension imbecile children who had reached 16 years of age at the death of the parent. The pension authorities, under it, can act when the case arises, and a result be secured, as in other regular cases, without the delay and trouble of getting a special act for the unfortunate, as they are now compelled to ask for. True, there are not many such cases—possibly 100 or so each year—but why compel each of them to appear before Congress for relief?

But this is only a step in the proposed right direction. There is, in fact, no valid reason why a method of procedure should be established compelling anybody to come to Congress for pension relief. Why could not a board of review or a commission of some kind, such as the Court of Claims, perform this function? If fifteen men, as a committee of Congress, can be trusted, why can not a similar or a much smaller number of selected civilians do it as well? We ought to have some confidence in the ability and integrity of our fellow-men who are not in Congress. Such a body, having the discretion to pass upon special cases, where full evidence to prove apparent facts can not now be obtained, and to make such awards as the merits of the cases disclose without regard to technicalities, the decisions being based upon humanity and justice, such as would be invoked by a committee of this body, would be a great relief to every Member of this House and a boon to every pension applicant.

Congressmen could then devote themselves more to the statesmanlike duties of studying up and mastering questions of government and finance and internal improvements and the many high and momentous affairs involved in this line of political life.

Such a board could sit frequently or constantly; suitors could go before it at any time, in person or by proof; cases could be disposed of as they come up in a timely manner, and it would be unnecessary to crowd into a few Congressional days a year's accumulation of cases, to be but poorly considered or half acted upon.

This would be a great relief to suitors, and complaints would be reduced to a minimum. Our time could be spent, as I have suggested, in performing higher functions, in passing general pension laws, leaving the administration of them to others having power to act as we would act through our committee, we reposing in confidence that the pension rights of our constituents were being guarded jealously, their cases dispatched with celerity, and administered with equity. I believe this would be a practical reform. It would certainly be an economizer of time, and produce results now impossible.

A successful manager of a great business never devotes his time to small affairs subordinates can do as well as he, but reserves himself for the higher duties which grow out of the performance of the details by others; and so here we ought to reserve our efforts and energies for the many higher, more strenuous, and complex problems that come to our branch of the Government.

But, in the next place, if this proposition be too utopian to be hoped for with prospects of realization, if the old soldier must still come to Congress and have his entreaties for relief placed before this body, it seems to me we can and ought to improve upon our methods, for now in many cases when he asks for bread we are giving him a stone.

There are probably but few people outside of Congress that know there are two pension committees in this body—the Committee on Pensions and the Committee on Invalid Pensions. They are alike in purposes, but differ in some of their practices.

The Pensions Committee, of which I have the pleasure of being a member and can speak from personal knowledge, considers every bill referred to it, if called for by its author, and recommends for passage every bill of merit.

The Committee on Invalid Pensions considers a part of the bills referred to it, and recommends a part of those considered. Now, I do not want to be considered as speaking disparagingly of this committee. With the number of bills it has before it, and the time it has at its disposal, it appears that this course is a consistent one.

But is there not here a demand for a broader and fairer method? Should not this committee, instead of equipping itself with but one expert to examine its thousands of cases, employ as many as are needed to write up all of them, so that instead of pursuing the policy of pigeon-holing all of the cases of each Member, except four or five he is allowed to select, give each and every bill an equal chance?

There were 2,523 special pensions granted during the Fifty-ninth Congress out of probably 25,000 asked for, and thousands of cases as meritorious, many of them, as those granted were never written up or considered by the Invalid Pensions Committee at all. And why should this discrimination be practiced? Why should not all claimants have the same fair treatment, the same as they are supposed to get before the Pension Bureau, the deserving ones being passed and those without sufficient merit being turned down? With such a course of procedure, Congressmen could go before their constituents without dissimulation, removed of all blame or suspicion of neglect of the old soldier's interest, and what is far better, obtain the proper pension for many who have no other means of securing it.

"Uncle Sam is rich enough to buy us all a farm;" and if so, is abundantly able to pay a good pension to every old soldier entitled to it. Love of country is not a matter of caprice only. You can instill into the minds of our youth a spirit of patriotism by inspiring a reverence for the flag and by reciting to them stories of heroes who laid down their lives to defend it. But real patriotism is born of example, and the Government must show the same devotion to the soldier's interests in time of peace that it wishes the soldier to return to it in time of war. Woe betide the country when it tramples his rights under foot and turns a deaf ear to his just appeals. A government loyal to the people will find loyal subjects, and they will quickly and cheerfully rally to its call when anyone assails its flag or attempts to despoil its institutions.

If Congress is to pursue its present policy, it should be fair to all and put itself in a position to promptly hear and determine all cases presented to it for allowance. It is the only creditable thing to do. If a method can not be worked out superior to the one now in vogue, let us make it an exact, methodical, effective process instead of a happy-go-lucky, catch-as-catch-can, go-as-you-please affair, without a determinate method or policy. There is no middle ground that can be occupied with credit to ourselves or with fairness to the old-soldier element of our constituency. And the Pension Bureau should employ a sufficient force to do all its work quickly. It means only a few more clerks, and they are plenty. As my observation goes, there is no end to the people that want to work for our good Uncle Sam. And I believe Congress is willing to make the appropriation big enough to cover all the needs of a prompt and decisive service.

The old soldier that has pitched his tent on "fame's eternal camping ground" has no need for a pension "over there." What little he wants he wants "down here below," and he is not now going to "want that little long." We ought not to tire out his patience with technicalities. The Halls of Congress should be no place for obstructionists or reactionaries as to pension legislation. We should all be "boosters" instead of "knockers" in the matter of passing all of these special bills that are just.

I am glad that it has been the policy of the Government, in raising money to pay pensions, to pursue such a method of indirect taxation that no one has esteemed it as a burden. That immense and almost incomprehensible sum of nearly \$4,000,000,000 paid out for this item since the civil war has been raised, and the one hundred and forty millions now paid out annually passes into the Treasury and out into circulation without the complaint of high taxes from anybody. Think of it, that such an enormous expenditure could have been made annually for over forty years, the Government prospering all the time and the citizens never murmuring. Here is an example for financiering, fortitude, fidelity, and patriotism, the

like of which the world never saw before. No nation of the Old World can boast of a record anywise approaching it. [Applause.]

I am for "the old flag and an appropriation for pensions" big enough to treat all the soldiers alike. I think that for pensions we should sever the golden strings of the Government purse with the scissors of liberality. About the best money that the Government spends is its pension money. No finespun theories of finance are needed to figure out its effect on business. It goes into the hands of all classes of citizens, and into all the channels of trade. Thirty-five millions of dollars per quarter is paid out, and it meets the emergency currency situation about the best of anything that has yet been devised. It is more than the Government put into the banks to stop the panic, and if it could have paid out a year's pensions all at that time there would probably have been no financial distress. Our pension appropriation is not only a distributor of money but of happiness to many a household as well.

I hope that the money under the coming widows' pension bill may be speedily paid out to those who are to be its beneficiaries. This reminds me of another thing I hear frequently complained of; that is a delay in paying pensions to widows and orphans upon the demise of the husband and father. It does not seem to me to be just right that there should have been over 11,000 accrued pensions unpaid in the Pension Department at the close of the last fiscal year. When a husband dies, in many cases the widow, deprived of his support, is destitute, and needs quick service by the Government in placing in her hands what is due her, and such claims should be given absolute precedence over all others, and be adjusted with the least possible exaction as to evidence.

For my part I am sorry that the provision of the Sulloway widows' pension bill, now in conference committee, which was in it when it passed the House, extending its benefits to the entire soldiery of the Republic, was stricken out by the Senate, and I hope the House conferees will insist on the retention of the original provision.

The excuse for the amendment, given by the Senate committee in its report, is that nearly all of the widows of the soldiers of the regular Army and Navy and the widows of soldiers who served in the war with Spain are comparatively young women, not incapacitated by age. But this is not an equitable one. When a man is asked to enlist the promise is held out to him that in case he is killed, or succumbs to disease, or dies from wounds received, the Government will, by pension, aid in caring for his widow and orphans. Hence it has no right, by delay, to force such conditions upon them that the widow, to live, must toil and sweat over the washtub for years, endure hunger and poverty, and wear her life away until exhaustion overtakes her, and the children be kept from school and society, and be poorly clothed and fed, to aid her in obtaining a subsistence.

Early in life is when the husband's service would have been most valuable to his family, and this is the time when its absence should be compensated by a contribution from the Government. To wait until old age arrives to those who are compelled to wear their lives out prematurely by the hardships of widowhood forced upon them by the loss of husband in the Government service is practically a denial of help, and as a policy is both unpatriotic and unjust.

The Government's obligation begins immediately upon the occurrence of widowhood, and for this reason the support of these widows and orphans should not be put off until the wars and campaigns in which they served are an almost forgotten fact of history. Ten years ago the war with Spain occurred, and the widows of its soldiers are entitled to pensions now.

What is \$8 or \$12 per month to the sacrifice of the widow who gave her husband in the prime of life, and \$2 per month for the support of the child that was made an orphan by the ravages of this war. And, then, why be obliged to wait for the pittance till the widow is old and is no longer able to provide her own means of subsistence, and the amount is needed to keep her from the almshouse or some other charitable institution or from being a burden to friends or relatives, who generally have enough to do to provide for their own necessities. To decline to contribute toward the care of these widows and orphans, not only in declining years, but while they are needy in earlier years, is base ingratitude and discreditable to both the Government and its chief legislative body. [Applause.]

There are several other general pension bills pending in the Committee on Invalid Pensions that should be passed to do justice to deserving old soldiers, and I hope the committee may soon see its way clear to present them to the House, as I shall be pleased to vote for them and for appropriations commensurate with their requirements. The Taylor bill for the relief of

ex-prisoners of war, the Sherwood bill granting a service pension of \$1 per day to those who served over eighteen months, and the Dawes bill placing certain volunteer officers on the retired list with pay, the same as those of the Regular Army officers, all measures introduced by my Ohio colleagues, meet my hearty approval.

Time and mortality are thinning the ranks of the old soldiers, and soon the places they have been wont to inhabit will know them no more forever. There were 31,000 deaths of surviving pensioners of the civil war last year, and this year they will undoubtedly reach 50,000. A regiment per week will spread their silent tents and bivouac with the dead "on fame's eternal camping ground." More than 60 per cent of the men and women now living never saw anything of the civil war, having been born since that great struggle, and soon an old soldier of that war will be a curiosity; and most of us, too, who have personal recollections of it, will have our names inscribed on the eternal rolls. Then, let us make the last days of the old soldiers and their dependents more comfortable, their going hence less foreboding, and the fate of those they leave behind less deplorable. [Applause.]

Mr. KEIFER. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

The committee accordingly rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. TOWNSEND, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the pension appropriation bill, and had come to no resolution thereon.

#### SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION REFERRED.

Under clause 2, Rule XXIV, the following concurrent resolution was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to its appropriate committee as indicated below:

Senate concurrent resolution 46.

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to cause to be made an examination and survey of Galveston Harbor, as a whole, including Galveston Harbor, Galveston channel, Texas City channel, and Port Bolivar channel, in the State of Texas, for the purpose of establishing a broad, comprehensive, and systematic plan for the future extension, enlargement, and deepening of said harbor so as to meet the growing needs of commerce, and to estimate the probable cost thereof—*

to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

#### ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. KEIFER. I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 49 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, the following executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

A letter from the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, transmitting a schedule of documents and papers not necessary for the transaction of the public business—to the Joint Select Committee on Disposition of Useless Papers in the Executive Departments and ordered to be printed.

A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a copy of a letter from the Secretary of War submitting an estimate of appropriation for purchase of land adjoining the military reservation at Fort Des Moines, Iowa—to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

A letter from the Secretary of War, recommending legislation to transfer to local authorities the right of way of the Cache River road to the Mound City (Ill.) National Cemetery, and also making recommendations as to other roads leading to the same cemetery—to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed with illustrations.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, bills and resolutions were severally reported from committees, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the several Calendars therein named, as follows:

Mr. PAYNE, from the Committee on Ways and Means, to which was referred the bill of the Senate (S. 514) to amend an act entitled "An act to prevent the importation of impure and unwholesome tea," approved March 2, 1897, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1244), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. WILSON of Illinois, from the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, to which was referred the bill of



the House (H. R. 350) for the establishment of a fish hatchery at Paris, Tex., reported the same with amendments, accompanied by a report (No. 1245), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 513) to establish a fish-cultural station in the county of Hickman, in the State of Tennessee, reported the same with amendments, accompanied by a report (No. 1246), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 3928) to establish a fish hatchery and fish-culture station in the State of Kansas, reported the same with amendments, accompanied by a report (No. 1247), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 3972) to establish a fish hatchery and fish station in the State of South Carolina, reported the same with amendments, accompanied by a report (No. 1248), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 4901) to establish a fish-hatching and fish-culture station in Jefferson County, State of Kentucky, reported the same with amendments, accompanied by a report (No. 1249), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 6131) to authorize the establishment of a fish-cultural and biological station on the Gulf of Mexico within the limits of the State of Florida, reported the same with amendments, accompanied by a report (No. 1250), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 7616) to establish a fish-hatching and fish station in the city of Green Bay, Brown County, State of Wisconsin, reported the same with amendments, accompanied by a report (No. 1251), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 11825) to establish a fish-cultural and biological station in the Territory of Hawaii, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1252), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. MOORE of Texas, from the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 16509) to amend section 12 of the naturalization laws, reported the same with amendments, accompanied by a report (No. 1253), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. WILSON of Illinois, from the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 17138) to establish a fish-hatching and fish-culture station in Monroe County, State of Illinois, reported the same with amendments, accompanied by a report (No. 1254), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 17139) to establish a fish-hatchery and fish-cultural station in the State of Louisiana, reported the same with amendments, accompanied by a report (No. 1255), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. MANN, from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 17707) to authorize William H. Standish to construct a dam across James River, in Stone County, Mo., and divert a portion of its waters through a tunnel into the said river again to create electric power, reported the same with amendments, accompanied by a report (No. 1256), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 18350) to authorize the Missouri Central Railroad Company to construct a bridge across the Missouri River near the city of Glasgow, in the State of Missouri, reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1257), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 18351) to authorize the Missouri Central Railroad Company to construct a bridge across the Missouri

River near the city of St. Charles, in the State of Missouri, reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1258), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. RICHARDSON, from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 18615) to authorize the Cairo and Tennessee River Railroad Company to construct bridges across the Cumberland River, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1259), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 18616) to authorize the Cairo and Tennessee River Railroad Company to construct a bridge across the Tennessee River, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1260), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. KNOWLAND, from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, to which was referred the resolution of the Senate (S. Res. 58) authorizing the Secretary to War to establish harbor lines in Wilmington Harbor, California, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1261), which said resolution and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. HULL of Iowa, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill of the Senate (S. 653) to authorize commissions to issue in the cases of officers of the Army retired with increased rank, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1262), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. ESCH, from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, to which was referred the bill of the Senate (S. 5908) to amend an act authorizing the construction of a dam and bridge across the Missouri River in the State of Montana, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1263), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. KNOWLAND, from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, to which was referred the bill of the Senate (S. 6028) to provide for safety of life on navigable waters during regattas or marine parades, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1264), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. HULE of Iowa, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the resolution of the Senate (S. R. 28) authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate certain cannon, with their accessories, to the State of New Hampshire, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1265), which said resolution and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, private bills and resolutions were severally reported from committees, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the Committee of the Whole House as follows:

Mr. HOWELL of Utah, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 5461) for the relief of Lawson M. Fuller, major, Ordnance Department, United States Navy, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1239), which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

Mr. CANDLER, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 8024) for the relief of the heirs of Abraham Jones, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1240), which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

Mr. CLAYTON, from the Committee on War Claims, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 13928) for the relief of P. H. McDonough, of Bardstown, Ky., reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1241), which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

Mr. TIRRELL, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill of the Senate (S. 1729) for the relief of Alice M. Stafford, administratrix of the estate of Capt. Stephen R. Stafford, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1242), which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

Mr. LAW, from the Committee on War Claims, to which was referred the bill of the Senate (S. 2886) for the relief of the legal representatives of the late firm of Lapene & Ferre, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1243), which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

## CHANGE OF REFERENCE.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXII, committees were discharged from the consideration of bills of the following titles; which were thereupon referred as follows:

A bill (H. R. 18423) to correct the military record of Mark Tomlinson—Committee on Military Affairs discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 6312) granting a pension to Lewis A. Walker—Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 12835) granting an increase of pension to Charles May—Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 18658) for the relief of Thomas B. Tweedle—Committee on Military Affairs discharged, and referred to the Committee on War Claims.

## PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. POWERS: A bill (H. R. 19407) establishing a light and fog-signal station on or near Clark Ledge, entrance to St. Croix River, State of Maine—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SLAYDEN: A bill (H. R. 19408) to authorize the Secretary of War to donate to the Albert Sidney Johnston Camp, No. 1, Confederate Veterans, of San Antonio, Tex., not to exceed fifty obsolete Springfield rifles, bayonets, and bayonet scabbards for the same—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LINDBERGH: A bill (H. R. 19409) to amend the act of Congress authorizing the construction of a dam across the Crow Wing River, in the State of Minnesota—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. RUSSELL of Missouri: A bill (H. R. 19410) for a survey of Little Black River, Missouri—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. CALE: A bill (H. R. 19411) authorizing the incorporated town of Valdez, Alaska, to issue bonds to the amount of \$15,000 for the purpose of constructing dams and dikes for protection against glacier streams—to the Committee on the Territories.

By Mr. JONES of Washington: A bill (H. R. 19412) authorizing the construction of a bridge across the Okanogan River, Washington—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. KIMBALL: A bill (H. R. 19413) for the construction of an addition to the United States post-office, public building, and court room in the city of Frankfort, State of Kentucky, and for repairs and alterations to the present building—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. GARDNER of Massachusetts: A bill (H. R. 19414) providing for the erection of a post-office building at Beverly, Mass.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. PETERS: A bill (H. R. 19415) to repeal the application of the coastwise shipping laws of the United States to the traffic between ports in the Philippine Islands and between ports in the Philippine Islands and ports in the United States, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

By Mr. KEIFER: A bill (H. R. 19416) granting a pension to all persons who have lost their hearing from causes originating in the military service of the United States—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MCCREARY: A bill (H. R. 19417) to amend an act entitled "An act for the protection of persons furnishing material and labor for the construction of public works"—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BRADLEY: A bill (H. R. 19418) granting condemned cannon for Stony Point State Park, New York—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. OLCOTT: A bill (H. R. 19419) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the reorganization of the consular service of the United States"—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CRUMPACKER: A bill (H. R. 19420) authorizing a judicial review of law and facts in fraud-order cases—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MONDELL: A bill (H. R. 19421) to provide for the entry and sale of public lands containing coal—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. KAHN: A bill (H. R. 19422) granting a certain right of way to the Southern Pacific Company—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BURTON of Ohio: A bill (H. R. 19423) to incorporate the Hungarian-American Federation—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. SLAYDEN: A bill (H. R. 19462) to amend section 5438 of the Revised Statutes—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. EDWARDS of Georgia: Resolution (H. Res. 306) of sympathy for the Irish people in their struggle for home rule—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

## PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADAIR: A bill (H. R. 19424) granting an increase of pension to Henry McLean—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ASHBROOK: A bill (H. R. 19425) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Samuel V. Miller—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BARCHFELD: A bill (H. R. 19426) granting an increase of pension to Harris Hoover—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BARCLAY: A bill (H. R. 19427) granting an increase of pension to Richard L. S. Sheckels—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BEALE of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 19428) granting an increase of pension to George Logan von Horn—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BOYD: A bill (H. R. 19429) granting an increase of pension to William A. Barnes—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 19430) granting an increase of pension to Mathew Doyle—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CALE: A bill (H. R. 19431) granting an increase of pension to William S. Lewis—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CARLIN: A bill (H. R. 19432) for the relief of J. C. Howell—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 19433) for the relief of the executors of the estate of Curtis Burr Graham, deceased—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. CLAYTON: A bill (H. R. 19434) granting a pension to Mettie Blackwood—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. DAVIDSON: A bill (H. R. 19435) granting an increase of pension to Rollin S. Burbank—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GARNER: A bill (H. R. 19436) for the relief of Robert W. Prosser, of Valverde County, Tex.—to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. HOUSTON: A bill (H. R. 19437) for the relief of Martha S. Murfree—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 19438) granting an increase of pension to Paul Kerr—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington: A bill (H. R. 19439) granting an honorable discharge to George W. Quimby—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. JACKSON: A bill (H. R. 19440) granting an increase of pension to Mary M. Baker—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 19441) granting a pension to Sarah Rebecca Mobray—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 19442) granting a pension to Elizabeth A. Blades—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 19443) granting a pension to Elizabeth Brown—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 19444) granting a pension to Susan E. Bowman—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 19445) for the relief of Edward Boone and the heirs of William Boone—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 19446) granting an increase of pension to Lumon Gee—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 19447) construing discharges of members of Company K, First Regiment Maryland Eastern Shore Volunteers, as honorable—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KENNEDY of Iowa: A bill (H. R. 19448) granting an increase of pension to George Ross—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. McHENRY: A bill (H. R. 19449) granting a pension to Abraham Hess—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MADISON: A bill (H. R. 19450) granting an increase of pension to William C. M. Bishop—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.



By Mr. PATTERSON: A bill (H. R. 19451) granting an increase of pension to Joseph Robinson—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SMITH of Texas: A bill (H. R. 19452) for the relief of Parker Burnham—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. STERLING: A bill (H. R. 19453) granting an increase of pension to William H. H. McDowell—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. STURGISS: A bill (H. R. 19454) for the relief of Margaret A. Timberlake, administratrix of Richard Timberlake, deceased—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. TAWNEY: A bill (H. R. 19455) granting an increase of pension to Adam Dotzenrod—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. THISTLEWOOD: A bill (H. R. 19456) for the relief of Adam Miller—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 19457) granting an increase of pension to Jesse McBride—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TOU VELLE: A bill (H. R. 19458) granting an increase of pension to Erasmus B. Manahan—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 19459) to remove the charge of desertion from the record of John M. Jones—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WEEKS: A bill (H. R. 19460) granting an increase of pension to George A. Brown—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WILSON of Illinois: A bill (H. R. 19461) to provide for the submission to the Court of Claims of the claims against the Mississippi Choctaws of J. J. Beckham, for services rendered and expenses incurred in the matter of the claims of the Mississippi Choctaws to citizenship in the Choctaw Nation—to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, the following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. ACHESON: Paper to accompany bill for relief of Jacob Grim—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ASHBROOK: Petition of Peace Society of Friends of Philadelphia, against increase of the Navy—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. ALEXANDER of Missouri: Paper to accompany bill for relief of Jacob Clute—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BRADLEY: Petition of Division No. 292, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, of Middletown, N. Y., against the Penrose bill—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. BURLEIGH: Petition of W. L. Rice, president of Lumbermen's Exchange of Philadelphia, for provision for taking census of standing timber in the United States—to the Committee on the Census.

By Mr. CALE: Paper to accompany bill for relief of William S. Lewis—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CALDER: Petition of Arthur Cheatle, against the Penrose bill—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, petition of Buffalo Credit Men's Association, for present bankruptcy bill and all proposed amendments thereto—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of David S. White, for the Kittredge copyright bill—to the Committee on Patents.

By Mr. CHANEY: Paper to accompany bill for relief of John W. Smith, of Indian Springs, Ind.—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, paper to accompany bill for relief of John W. Smith—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CLARK of Florida: Papers to accompany H. R. 9103, 9098, and 9090—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, petition of H. E. Kennedy, secretary Local No. 76, International Union of Shiprights, Joiners, and Calkers of America, against legislation prohibiting liquor traffic—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of sundry citizens of Florida, against the Penrose bill—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, petition of Florida State convention of postmasters, for parcels post, postal savings bank, and mail subsidy bill—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, petition of Savannah Pilot Association, against H. R. 4771 (Littlefield pilotage bill)—to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, petition of Jacksonville (Fla.) Board of Trade, for a better Life-Saving Service—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of Rugz Brothers Canning Company, of Apalachicola, Fla., against the Mann bill to amend pure-food bill—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of Lodge No. 257, International Association of Machinists, of Jacksonville, Fla., for battle-ship building in navy-yards—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, paper to accompany bill for relief of Salvador Costa—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. COOK of Pennsylvania: Petition of Peace Association of Friends, of Philadelphia, against increase of the Navy—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. DAVIDSON: Petitions of Polish Newspaper Association and Rev. W. B. Palaczky and others, representing 41,000 Polish-American citizens of Wisconsin, for adoption of the Bates resolution of sympathy and good will—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. DRAPER: Petition of New York Credit Men's Association, for the bankruptcy law and proposed amendments thereto—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of Peace Association of Friends, of Philadelphia, against authorization of \$60,000,000 for expenditures in the Navy for battle ships, cruisers, docks, etc.—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, petition of New York Board of Trade and Transportation, against the Aldrich currency bill—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. ELLIS of Oregon: Petition of Credit Men's Association of Portland, Oreg., against repeal of the bankruptcy act—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ESCH: Petition of editor of the Daily Kurier Polski, of Milwaukee, Wis., favoring the Bates resolution of sympathy for the Poles in Prussia in their efforts for property rights in that country—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of Guard Rail Lodge, No. 168, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, of North La Crosse, Wis., for the La Follette-Sterling employers' liability bill, and against the Knox bill—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FULLER: Petition of Art Institute of Chicago, for removal of duty on art works—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of Dekalb County, Ill., prohibition convention, for the Littlefield bill—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of Armstrong Brothers Tool Company, of Chicago, Ill., for the Fowler currency bill (H. R. 12677)—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Also, petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Sandwich, Ill., against restoration of Army canteen—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GOULDEN: Petition of Louis F. Kuntz, of New York City, for H. R. 428, creating national registration for automobiles—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of citizens of New York and vicinity, for relief for heirs of victims of General Slocum disaster—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. GRONNA: Petition of citizens of Maddock, N. Dak., for the McCumber Federal inspection of grain bill and against speculation in futures in grain or other commodities—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of citizens of Esmond, N. Dak., for defeat of the Penrose bill—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan: Petition of soldiers of Otsego, Mich., for the Sherwood bill—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HARRISON: Petition of New York Board of Trade and Transportation, against Aldrich currency bill—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Also, petition of National Association of Clothiers' Convention, against the Aldrich currency bill—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. HEPBURN: Petition of citizens of Clark County, Iowa, for H. R. 40 (prohibition in the District of Columbia)—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Also, petition of citizens of Clark County, Iowa, against religious legislation in the District of Columbia (H. R. 4897)—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. HIGGINS: Petition of Chamber of Commerce of New Haven for forest reservations in White Mountains and Southern Appalachian Mountains—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HOWELL of Utah: Petition of 56 citizens of New York and vicinity, for relief for heirs of victims of General Slocum disaster—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, petition of Peace Association of Friends, of Philadelphia, against proposed four battle ships—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, petition of 250 citizens of Cedar City, Utah, against the Penrose bill (S. 1518)—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. HOUSTON: Paper to accompany bill for relief of Martha S. Murfree—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. KAHN: Petition of San Francisco Labor Council, for H. R. 4064, regarding convict-made goods—to the Committee on Labor.

Also, petitions of Local Union No. 44, International Association of Marble Cutters, and Elevator Constructors' Local Union No. 8, both of San Francisco, Cal., for battle-ship building in navy-yards—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, petition of Irish Nationalists, of San Francisco, Cal., against arbitration treaty with Great Britain—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. KELIHER: Petitions of Morris M. Comanday, Musha Krautzman, Wolf Davis, and Theodore Herr Lodge, No. 17, I. O. U. H., of Boston, Mass., against educational test, increase in head tax, limiting number of immigrants to arrive in one year, and money-in-pocket feature—to the Committee Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, petition of Boston Associated Board of Trade, for an elastic and Government-guaranteed currency—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Also, petition of Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen of Boston, for the La Follette-Sterling employers' liability bill and Rodenberg anti-injunction bill—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of Boston Associated Board of Trade, for forest reservations in White Mountains and Southern Appalachian Mountains—to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. KEIFER: Petitions of William Keon, George D. Hoerning, Dewold F. Buchanan, Edward McGuire, and, respectively, 25, 23, 28, and 24 others, in all 100 citizens of New York and vicinity, for relief for heirs of victims of *General Slocum* disaster—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LINDBERGH: Petition of Post No. 40, Grand Army of the Republic, of Sauk Center, Minn., against removal of the Milwaukee pension agency—to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. McKINNEY: Petition of Arthur W. Marsh Post, Grand Army of the Republic, of Warsaw, Ill., against consolidation of pension agencies—to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. McMORRAN: Petition of citizens of Port Huron, Mich., for battle-ship building in the navy-yards—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. MADDEN: Petition of citizens of New York and vicinity, for relief for heirs of victims of *General Slocum* disaster—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MOON of Tennessee: Paper to accompany bill for relief of Charles May (previously referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions)—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. PATTERSON: Paper to accompanying bill for relief of Joseph Robinson—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PAYNE: Petition of citizens of Cato, Cayuga County, N. Y., for a national highway commission—to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. REEDER: Petition of Western Retail Implement and Vehicle Dealers' Association, against a parcels-post law—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, petition of Nathan L. Fritts, for the Sherwood pension bill—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SHERWOOD: Petition of steam engineers of Toledo, Ohio, for battle-ship building in navy-yards—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. LOWDEN: Petition of city council of Galena, Ill., for improvement of the Mississippi River by a channel at least 6 feet in depth from St. Louis to Minneapolis—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. SPERRY: Petition of Chamber of Commerce of New Haven, Conn., for forest reservations in White Mountains and Southern Appalachian Mountains—to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. STEPHENS of Texas: Petition of G. M. Tirely and other citizens of Henrietta, Tex., against the Penrose bill—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. STURGISS: Paper to accompany bill for relief of estate of Richard Timberlake—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, petition of citizens of Simpson, Taylor County, W. Va., against the Penrose bill—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. SULZER: Petition of Peace Association of Friends of Philadelphia, against increase of the Navy—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, petition of United Mine Workers of America, for a sixteenth amendment to the Constitution, for woman suffrage—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of E. S. Fleisinger, for the Kittredge-Barchfeld copyright bill—to the Committee on Patents.

By Mr. TIRRELL: Petitions of Louis H. Wezzel, Gaston Mors, Aaron Warkowetz, and Louis A. Cahn, and others, citizens of New York and vicinity, for relief for heirs of victims of *General Slocum* disaster—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, petitions of Henry J. Andrus and others; Starling Grange, No. 53, and Fred R. Frask and others, for a national highway commission—to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. THOMAS of North Carolina: Petition of citizens of Grantsboro, N. C., against the Penrose bill—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. WANGER: Petition of Smoky City Lodge, No. 219, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, of Allegheny, Pa., for the La Follette-Sterling liability bill, the Rodenberg anti-injunction bill, and the Clapp free-pass amendment—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of Jay E. Remley, legislative representative of Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, in favor 11794, favoring Kittredge copyright bill—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of John Luther Long, for S. 2900 and H. R. 11794, favoring Kittredge copyright bill—to the Committee on Patents.

Also, petition of Peace Association of Friends, of Philadelphia, Pa., against building four new battle ships at a cost exceeding \$60,000,000—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

## SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, March 18, 1908.

The Chaplain, Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, offered the following prayer:

*The law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made us free from the law and of death.*

*For we know that if the earthly house of our tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building from God—a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.*

*We are always of good courage and are willing rather to be absent from the body and to be present with the Lord.*

Even so, Father, come to us. We are Thy children. In life or in death, in strength or in weakness, we can always come to Thee for a Father's voice; we can always rest on a Father's arm.

Father, we ask Thy blessing upon those of his own household, who watched over his illness and who see his face in death. For ourselves, his associates here, we thank Thee for a life which he has given to the service of his country, and we ask Thee to bless us and lift us up, that we may all stand in the presence of our God and of this nation, that each man may consecrate life to heaven and to earth together. These two worlds are one world, and the law of the Spirit of Life makes us free from the fear of death.

Go with us where we go. Stay with us where we stay. We are praying for the Congress, for the nation, Father, for all who loved him and honored him, and for all who prize the government of law, in Christ Jesus.

Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, on earth as it is done in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. Lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil; for Thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory, forever. Amen.

## THE JOURNAL.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on request of Mr. CULBERSON, and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Journal stands approved.

## DEATH OF SENATOR WILLIAM PINKNEY WHYTE.

Mr. RAYNER. Mr. President, it is with feelings of profound sorrow that I announce to the Senate the death of the Hon. WILLIAM PINKNEY WHYTE, the distinguished Senator from Maryland. He died last night at his home in Baltimore at 7 o'clock. I had observed within the last few weeks the plainest evidence of his failing health, but, knowing his speedy powers of recuperation, I had strong hopes that he would rally from the attack from which he was suffering. It was otherwise de-